A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of the ROMANS,

TO THE

DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

AND

CONTINUED down from that PERIOD;

By WILLIAM RIDER, A. B.
Late of *Jesus College, Oxford.*

HISTORY is *philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hall.

VOL. I.

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A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
FROM THE
INVASION OF THE ROMANS,
TO THE
REIGN OF GEORGE II.
AND
CONTAINING EVERY REMARKABLE
EVENT, CIVIL, RELIGIOUS, AND MILITARY,
TO THE PRESENT TIME.
BY WILLIAM GUTHRIE, ESQ.

THE

History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY of GEORGE III. continued. A. D. 1763.

The other articles of the treaty were as follow:

ARTICLE V. The ſubjects of France ſhall have the liberty of fiſhing and drying on a part of the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland, ſuch as it is ſpecified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and con-

firmed by the preſent treaty (except what relates to the iſland of Cape-Breton, as well as to the other iſlands and coaſts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Laurence): And his Britannick Majeſty conſents to leave to the ſubjects of the Moſt Chriſtian King the liberty of fiſhing in the gulph of St. Laurence, on condition that the ſubjects of France do not exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of three leagues from all the coaſts belonging to Great-Britain, as well thoſe of the continent, as thoſe of the iſlands ſituated in the ſaid gulph of St. Laurence. And as to what relates to the fiſhery on the coaſts of the iſland of Cape-Breton out of the ſaid gulph, the ſubjects of the Moſt Chriſtian King ſhall not be permitted to exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of fifteen leagues from the coaſts of the iſland of Cape-Breton; and the fiſhery on the coaſts of Nova-Scotia or Acadia, and every where elſe out of the ſaid gulph, ſhall remain on the foot of former treaties.

"Art. VI. The King of Great-Britain cedes the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to ſerve as ſhelter to the French fiſhermen: and his ſaid Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty engages not to fortify the ſaid iſlands; to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the con-

convenience of the fiſhery; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

"Art. VII. In order to re-eſtabliſh peace on ſolid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all ſubject of diſpute with regard to the limits of the Britiſh and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majeſty and thoſe of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in that part of the world, ſhall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Miſſiſippi, from its ſource to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the ſea; and for this purpoſe, the Moſt Chriſtian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannick Majeſty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he poſſeſſes, or ought to poſſeſs, on the left ſide of the river Miſſiſippi, except the town of Orleans, and the iſland in which it is ſituated, which ſhall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Miſſiſippi ſhall be equally free, as well to the ſubjects of Great Britain, as to thoſe of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its ſource to the ſea, and

expreſsly that part which is between the ſaid iſland of New Orleans and the right bank of that river as well as the paſſage both in and out of its mouth. It is farther ſtipulated, that the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of either nation, ſhall not be ſtopped, viſited, or ſubjected to the payment of any duty whatſoever. The ſtipulations inſerted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, ſhall alſo take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

"Art. VIII. The King of Great-Britain ſhall reſtore to France the iſlands of Guadaloupe, of Marie Galante, of Deſirade, of Martinico, and of Belleiſle; and the fortreſſes of theſe iſlands ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in, when they were conquered by the Britiſh arms: provided that his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſlands, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, or in the other places reſtored to France by the preſent treaty, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, on board veſſels, which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſlands, and other places reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for this

this use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: and for this purpose the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannick Majesty and his Most Christian Majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said islands and places restored to France, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only, all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time. It has been further agreed, that his Most Christian Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said island and places restored

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expreſsly that part which is between the ſaid iſland of New Orleans and the right bank of that river as well as the paſſage both in and out of its mouth. It is farther ſtipulated, that the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of either nation, ſhall not be ſtopped, viſited, or ſubjected to the payment of any duty whatſoever. The ſtipulations inſerted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, ſhall alſo take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

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this uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: and for this purpoſe the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects to bring away their perſons and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſsly agreed between his Britannick Majeſty and his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſlands and places reſtored to France, ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only, all the effects belonging to the Engliſh being to be embarked at the ſame time. It has been further agreed, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing places and ports of the ſaid iſland and places reſtored

to France, and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.

"Art. IX. The Most Christian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannic Majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inserted in the IVth article for those of Canada: and the partition of the islands called Neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great-Britain, and that of St Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition so stipulated.

"Art. X. His Britannick Majesty shall restore to France the island of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: and his Most Christian Majesty cedes in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great-Britain, the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam; and with all the rights and dependencies of the said river Senegal.

"Art. XI. In the East Indies, Great-Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories

ries which that crown poſſeſſed, as well on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, as on that of Malabar, as alſo in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty renounces all pretenſions to the acquiſition which he had made on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, ſince the ſaid beginning of the year 1749. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall reſtore on his ſide, all that he may have conquered from Great-Britain, in the Eaſt Indies, during the preſent war; and will expreſsly cauſe Nattal and Tapanoully in the iſland of Sumatra, to be reſtored; he engages further not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And, in order to preſerve future peace on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, the Engliſh and French ſhall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parties ſhall renounce all demands and pretenſions of ſatisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for their depredations, or pillage, committed, on the one ſide or on the other, during the war.

"Art. XII. The iſland of Minorca ſhall be reſtored to his Britannick Majeſty,

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as well as Fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in when conquered by the arms of the Most Christian King; and with the artillery which was there, when the said island and the said fort were taken.

"Art. XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the last treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and by former treaties. The Cunette shall be destroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the side of the sea; and provision shall be made, at the same time, for the wholesomeness of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by some other means, to the satisfaction of the King of Great-Britain.

"Art. XIV. France shall restore all the countries belonging to the electorate of Hanover, to the landgrave of Hesse, to the duke of Brunswick, and to the count of La Lippe Buckebourg, which are or shall be occupied by his Most Christian Majesty's arms: the fortresses of these different countries shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by the French arms; and the pieces of artillery, which shall have been carried elsewhere, shall be re-

replaced by the ſame number, of the ſame bore, weight, and metal.

" Art. XV. In caſe the ſtipulations contained in the XIIIth article of the preliminaries, ſhould not be compleated at the time of the ſignature of the preſent treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortreſſes of Cleves, Weſel, Guelders, and of all the countries belonging to the King of Pruſſia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the Britiſh and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Weſtphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, and in all the empire, and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their reſpective ſovereigns; their Britannick and Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties promiſe to proceed, bona fide, with all the diſpatch the caſe will permit of, to the ſaid evacuations, the entire completion whereof they ſtipulate before the 15th of March next, or ſooner if it can be done: and their Britannick and Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties further engage and promiſe to each other, not to furniſh any ſuccours, of any kind, to their reſpective allies who ſhall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

" Art.

"Art. XVI. The decision of the prizes made in time of peace, by the subjects of Great Britain, on the Spaniards, shall be referred to the courts of justice of the admiralty of Great-Britain, conformably to the rules established among all nations, so that the validity of the said prizes, between the British and Spanish nations, shall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to treaties in the courts of justice of the nation who shall have made the capture.

"Art. XVII. His Britannick Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty: and his Catholic Majesty shall not permit his Britannic Majesty's subjects or their workmen, to be disturbed, or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away, logwood: and for this purpose they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines which are necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects: and his Catholic Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full

full enjoyment of those advantages, and powers, on the Spanish coast and territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

"Art. XVIII. His Catholic Majesty desists, as well for himself as for his successors, from all pretensions, which he may have formed in favour of the Guipuscoans, and other his subjects, to the right of fishing in the neighbourhood of the island of Newfoundland.

"Art. XIX. The King of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortress of the Havanna; and this fortress, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannick Majesty's arms; provided that his Britannick Majesty's subjects who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects as well as their persons, on board vessels which they shall be permitted to send to the said island restored as above, and which shall serve for that use

only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecution: and for this purpoſe the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions are not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſsly agreed between his Britannick Majeſty and his Catholic Majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſland reſtored to Spain, ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the Engliſh being to be embarked at the ſame time. It has been further agreed, that his Catholic Majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two Spaniſh clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing-places, and ports of the ſaid iſland reſtored

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to Spain, and that the merchandize, which shall be found therein, shall be confiscated.

"Art. XX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article, his Catholic Majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick Majesty, Florida, with fort St. Augustin, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the east or to the south east of the river Mississippi, and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties, or otherwise, which the Catholic King, and the crown of Spain have had, till now, over the said countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants, so that the Catholick King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form. His Britannick majesty agrees, on his side, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries above ceded, the liberty of the Catholic religion: He will consequently give the most express and the most effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the exercise of their religion, according to the rites of the

Romish church, as far as the laws of Great-Britain permit: His Britannick Majesty farther agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Catholic King in the said countries, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: The term limited for this emigration being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. It is moreover stipulated, that his Catholic Majesty shall have power to cause all the effects that may belong to him to be brought away, whether it be artillery, or other things.

"Art. XXI. The French and Spanish troops shall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and castles, of his Most Faithful Majesty in Europe, without any reserve, which shall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and shall restore them in the same condition they were in when conquered, with the same artillery,

tillery, and ammunition, which were found there: and with regard to the Portugueſe colonies in America, Africa, or in the Eaſt Indies, if any change ſhall have happened there, all things ſhall be reſtored on the ſame footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties, which ſubſiſted between the courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the preſent war.

"Art. XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, towns, and places, that are reſtored, and thoſe belonging to the countries ceded, ſhall be reſpectively and bona fide, delivered, or furniſhed at the ſame time, if poſſible, that poſſeſſion is taken, or, at lateſt, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, in whatever places the ſaid papers or documents may be found.

"Art. XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatſoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannick and Moſt Faithful Majeſties, as well as by thoſe of their Moſt Chriſtian and Catholic Majeſties, which are not included in the preſent treaty, either under the title of ceſſions, or under the title of reſtitutions, ſhall be reſtored with-

out difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

"Art. XXIV. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions, and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties; it is agreed, that the British and French troops shall complete, before the 15th of March next, all that shall remain to be executed of the XIIth and XIIIth articles of the preliminaries, signed the 3d day of November last, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the empire, or elsewhere. The island of Belleisle shall be evacuated six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Guadaloupe, Desirade, Marie Galante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. Great-Britain shall likewise, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into the possession of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great-Britain, on the side of the river Missisippi, as they are specified in the VIIth article. The island of Goree shall be evacuated by Great-Britain, three months after the exchange

change of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, and the iſland of Minorca, by France, at the ſame epoch, or ſooner if it can be done: and according to the conditions of the VIth article. France ſhall likewiſe enter into the poſſeſſion of the iſlands of St. Peter and Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. The factories in the East Indies ſhall be reſtored ſix months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done. The fortreſs of the Havanna, with all that has been conquered in the iſland of Cuba, ſhall be reſtored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done: and, at the ſame time, Great-Britain ſhall enter into poſſeſſion of the country ceded by Spain, according to the XXth article. All the places and countries of his Moſt Faithful Majeſty in Europe, ſhall be reſtored immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; and the Portugueſe colonies, which may have been conquered, ſhall be reſtored in the ſpace of three months in the Weſt Indies, and of ſix months in the East Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done.

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All the fortresses, the restitution whereof is stipulated above, shall be restored with the artillery and ammunition which were found there at the time of the conquest. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships that shall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

" Art. XXV. His Britannick Majesty, as elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, as well for himself, as for his heirs and successors, and all the dominions and possessions of his said Majesty in Germany, are included and guarantied by the present treaty of peace.

" Art. XXVI. Their Sacred Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, promise to observe, sincerely and bona fide, all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

" Art. XXVII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good

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and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

"In witness whereof, we the underwritten, their Ambassadors Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary, have signed with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the present Definitive Treaty, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto."

Done at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.
(L. S.) CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.
(L. S.) EL MARQ. DE GRIMALDI.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

I. SOME of the titles made use of by the contracting powers, either in their full powers and other acts, during the course of the negotiation, or in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged; it has been agreed, That no prejudice

dice ſhall ever reſult therefrom to any of the ſaid contracting parties, and that the titles taken or omitted on either ſide, on occaſion of the ſaid negotiation and of the preſent treaty, ſhall not be cited or quoted as a precedent.

II. It has been agreed and determined, That the French language made uſe of in all the copies of the preſent treaty, ſhall not become an example, which may be alledged, or made a precedent of, or prejudice, in any manner, any of the contracting powers; and that they ſhall conform themſelves, for the future, to what has been obſerved, and ought to be obſerved, with regard to, and on the part of, powers who are uſed, and have a right, to give and to receive copies of like treaties in any other language than French; the preſent treaty having ſtill the ſame force and effect, as if the aforeſaid cuſtom had been therein obſerved.

III. Though the King of Portugal has not ſigned the preſent definitive treaty, their Britannick, Moſt Chriſtian, and Catholic Majeſties, acknowledge, nevertheleſs, that his Moſt Faithful Majeſty is formally included therein as a contracting party, and as if he had expreſsly ſigned the ſaid treaty;

treaty; conſequently, their Britannick, Moſt Chriſtian, and Catholic Majeſties, reſpectively and conjointly, promiſe to his Moſt Faithful Majeſty, in the moſt expreſs and moſt binding manner, the execution of all and every the clauſes contained in the ſaid treaty, on his act of acceſſion.

The preſent ſeparate articles ſhall have the ſame force as if they were inſerted in the treaty.

Declaration of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Plenipotentiary, with regard to the debts due to the Canadians.

THE King of Great-Britain having deſired, that the payment of the letters of exchange and bills which have been delivered to the Canadians for the neceſſaries furniſhed to the French troops, ſhould be ſecured, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, entirely diſpoſed to render to every one that juſtice which is legally due to them, has declared, and does declare, that the ſaid bills and letters of exchange ſhall be punctually paid, agreeable to a liquidation made in a convenient time, according to the diſtance of the places,

places, and to what shall be possible; taking care, however, that the bills and letters of exchange, which the French subjects may have at the time of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills and letters of exchange, which are in the possession of the new subjects of the King of Great-Britain.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten minister of his Majesty, duly authorized for this purpose, have signed the present declaration, and caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris, the 10th of February 1763.

CHOISEUL, DUC DE-PRASLIN
(L. S.)

Declaration of his Britannick Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, with regard to the limits of Bengal in the East Indies.

WE the underwritten Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the King of Great-Britain, in order to prevent all subject of dispute on account of the limits of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal

Bengal, as well as of the coaſt of Coromandel, and Orixa, declare, in the name, and by order of his ſaid Britannick Majeſty, that the ſaid dominions of the ſubah of Bengal ſhall be reputed not to extend farther than Yanaon excluſively, and that Yanaon ſhall be conſidered as included in the north part of the coaſt of Coromandel or Orixa.

In witneſs whereof, &c,

Done at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.)

From a general view of this treaty, it appears, that, whatever defects it might otherwiſe contain, it was conducted with the moſt inviolable regard to good faith, and to the intereſt of Great-Britain and her allies. The adjuſtment of affairs in the empire ſeems to have formed no material impediment to the progreſs of the negociation. Both parties readily agreed to detach themſelves from the German war. They thought, and rightly, that nothing could tend ſo much to give peace to their reſpective allies, as mutually to withdraw

their assistance from them; and to stop that current of English and French money, which, as long as it should run into Germany, would be sure to feed a perpetual war in that country. Circumstanced as affairs then were, this conduct on our side was as defensible as the conduct which we held in 1761. At that time the affairs of the king of Prussia were at the lowest ebb: he was overpowered by the whole weight of Austria, of Sweden, of the empire, and of Russia, as determined as ever in her enmity, and then successful; to say nothing of France. Neither generosity, nor perhaps sound policy, ought to have permitted us to desert him in that situation. But when the last treaty was made, the condition of his affairs was absolutely reversed. He had got rid of the most powerful, and one of the most implacable of his enemies. He had concluded a peace with Sweden. The treaty itself freed him from all apprehensions of France. He had then none to contend with, but a nominal army of the empire, and one of Austria, which, though something more than nominal, was altogether unable to oppose his progress. His situation, from being pitiable, was become formidable. It was good policy to prevent the ballance of Germany from being overturned

ed to his prejudice. It would have been the worſt in the world to overturn it in his favour.

Theſe principles ſufficiently explain and juſtify the different conduct of this nation, at theſe two periods, towards the king of Pruſſia. The demand of the evacuation of Weſel, Cleves, and Guelderland, which had been made in the firſt negociation, was then juſtly excepted to, becauſe we refuſed to put an end to the German war. In this laſt the French agreed to it, and with reaſon, becauſe we agreed, in common, with them, to be neutral in the diſputes of the empire. And on theſe principles, the peace of Germany, ſo far as it depended on Great-Britain and France, was reſtored. The reſt of Europe was pacified by the ſtipulation for the evacuation of Portugal. This was, indeed, with regard to the contracting powers, the primary object.

What remained after the concerns of the allies were provided for, was the adjuſtment of what related to the ſettlements and commerce of Great-Britain and the Bourbon courts. The difficulty, which prevented this adjuſtment in the preceding negociation, was the intervention of the claims of Spain. The attempt of the Bourbon powers to intermix and confound their affairs

in the foregoing negociation had a ſhare in making the war more general: on this occaſion, it had a contrary effect. As the whole was now negociated together, it facilitated the peace by affording eaſier methods of adjuſting the ſyſtem of compenſation, and furniſhing more largely to the general fund of equivalents.

The great object, and the original cauſe of the war, had been the ſettlement of limits in America. This was, therefore, the principal point to be determined in the treaty. And it muſt be obſerved, that this point was much more accurately, as well as beneficially, ſettled, than it promiſed to be in the negociation of the preceding year. For the French, not having aſcertained the bounds between their own ſeveral poſſeſſions, with greater exactneſs, than they had thoſe between their poſſeſſion and ours, it was not clear in ceding Canada, how much they ceded to us. Diſputes might have ariſen, and did, indeed, immediately ariſe, upon this ſubject. Beſides, the weſtern limits of our ſouthern continental colonies were not mentioned. And theſe limits were extremely obſcure, and ſubject to many diſcuſſions. Such diſcuſſion, contained in them the ſeeds of a new war. Nothing, on the other hand, could

could be more precise and distinct than the boundary settled by the last treaty. It gave us, in addition, to what was properly Canada, a very large tract of territory, which the French used to include under the name of Louisiana; to which our claims were never clearly ascertained, and much less established by any possession. The French had possessed for a long time, forts and settlements in that country; whereas the English never laid claim to either the one or the other: and this was a consideration of no small moment in a contest concerning rights in such a country as America.

What added also to the rounding of our territories, and cutting off all occasions of limitary disputes, was the cession of Florida, on the part of Spain. This country, indeed, makes no great figure in the commercial world; and cannot be, therefore, put in competition with the other conquests. But, from the situation of its harbours of Pensacola and Mobile, it affords some advantages in time of peace, and very considerable ones in time of war; by connecting our new settlements on the Mississippi with those upon the Atlantic ocean, and by enabling us greatly to distress, if not wholly to destroy, the trade of the Spaniards, in case of a rupture with them.

By the treaty of Utrecht, which ſettled our northern limits, and by the preſent treaty, which aſcertained thoſe to the weſt, our poſſeſſions in America are as well defined, as the nature of ſuch a country can poſſibly admit. They comprehend in their extent the foundation of a vaſt empire; they have many advantages of ſoil and climate; and many of intercourſe and communication, by the number of noble lakes, and navigable rivers, with which that part of the world abounds. Theſe circumſtances afford, though a diſtant, a fair proſpect of commerce to Great Britain, when this immenſe country comes to be fully peopled, and properly cultivated. Some advantages alſo we derive from this poſſeſſion, that are not only conſiderable, but immediate; among the principal of which muſt be reckoned the monopoly of the fur and peltry trade of North America; much the greateſt trade of that kind in the world, and which is now, we may ſay, entirely in our hands.

The next point we ſhall conſider, is the arrangement concerning the Newfoundland fiſhery. This was a point of infinite importance, and a ſubject of much controverſy. In a commercial view it is certainly of great eſtimation; but it has been conſider-

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ed as even more material in a political light. Every body knows, that these extensive fisheries are the life of many maritime places, which would otherwise be of no sort of value; that they are the great nurseries of seamen, and consequently the great resources of the marine. Scarce any object could be of more importance to two nations, who contended for superiority in naval power.

The more clearly, therefore, it was the interest of Great-Britain to acquire the exclusive exercise of this fishery, the more strongly and evidently it became the interest of France to oppose herself to such a pretension. Not only a large part of her foreign trade depended on this fishery; but a great part of her domestic supply. Besides, every hope of the strength, and almost of the existence, of a naval power, must vanish with the loss of such a privilege. The English administration probably saw, that France would rather run all the hazards of war, than totally relinquish this object. Since therefore they despaired of driving the French entirely from this fishery, they endeavoured, as much as possible, to diminish its value to them. In this respect they followed the plan of the former negociation, except that some improvements were added.

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The fishery was, as it had been by the treaty of Utrecht, divided between France and England, but with less equality on this than on that occasion. The French are not wholly deprived of their share; but this share is considerably impaired. Their loss of Cape Breton does not appear to be fully compensated by the possession of St. Pierre and Miquelon. The considerable and growing fishery, which they had settled at Gaspe, is taken away without hope of recovery. On the whole we are thus circumstanced: we have advantages in the fishery, which we may certainly improve to a great superiority; but we have still a rival, which makes it necessary to exert ourselves with unremitting industry, in order to secure it.

By the article relating to the logwood trade, the English acquired a solid right to this long contested privilege; but seemed, at the same time, to have lost all the means of protecting it. It is not, however, easy, to point out a better method of adjusting a claim of such a peculiar nature. The right we claimed was not a right to the territory, nor directly to the produce; but only a privilege of cutting and taking away this wood by indulgence. To have insisted on the right of erecting fortifications, would have been making the strongest claim to an

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abſolute, direct, and excluſive dominion over the territory itſelf; a height to which we do not find that our moſt extenſive claims have ever been carried. In Africa, by the reſtoration of Gorée to France, and the retention of Senegal in our own hands, the trade on that coaſt was divided between the two nations. The Engliſh, as they are now circumſtanced in thoſe ports, ſeem to be the moſt advantageouſly ſituated for trade in time of peace; and the French for carrying away the whole of it in time of war.

The reſtitution of all the French factories and ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies muſt, indeed, be confeſſed to a very material conceſſion; but it does not afford all thoſe advantages to France, which might, at firſt ſight, be imagined. The fortifications erected at ſuch a vaſt expence, in all thoſe ſettlements, have been totally deſtroyed; and it cannot be expected, that, in the preſent circumſtances of the French company, they can, in the courſe of many years, if at all, be reſtored to their former condition. In Bengal, including, by an explanation annexed to the definitive treaty, the kingdom of Orixa, they engaged to erect no kind of fortifications, nor to keep any

any number of ſoldiers whatſoever. They agreed to acknowlege the then reigning ſubas of Bengal, Decan and the Carnatick, as the lawful ſovereigns of thoſe countries. Theſe princes are the greateſt on the peninſula of India: they were in our intereſt; and moſt of them either owe the acquiſition, or depend for the preſervation of their power on our arms; by which means our company is become, in effect, the arbiter of the commerce and politics of that great and opulent coaſt, extending from the Ganges to Cape Comorin; and, in a great degree alſo, of the other, from the ſame Cape to the mouth of the Indus. Add to this, that, during war, the traders and manufacturers tranſported themſelves from the French to the Engliſh ſettlements, where they will have, at leaſt, an equal market, and a ſuperior protection; and it will be extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to recall them to their former habitations.

The Engliſh miniſtry had been always of opinion, that the powers of Germany, if left to themſelves, would ſoon put an end to their bloody diſputes; and the event abundantly juſtified their conjecture. The war between Great-Britain and France was no ſooner terminated, than the German potentates began to think, in earneſt, of effect-

effecting an accommodation. Conferences were opened, for this purpoſe, at Hubertſburg, and a treaty concluded between his Pruſſian majeſty and the empreſs queen of Hungary. As affairs in this treaty were ſpeedily adjuſted, ſo they may be very conciſely related. The ſubſtance of it was no more than that a mutual reſtitution and oblivion ſhould take place, and each party ſit down, at the end of the war, in the ſame ſituation, in which they began it. There was a report, indeed, of a ſecret article, which promiſed ſome kind of indemnification to the king of Poland; but of this their is no certainty. The king of Pruſſia, after having, for ſix years, contended againſt the efforts of almoſt all the Great powers of Europe, by whoſe enmity he could be effected, having ſtood proof againſt the moſt terrible blows of fortune, received, at length, the full reward of his uncommon magnanimity. He retains his dominions in their utmoſt extent; and having delivered his country by his incomparable talents for war, he at laſt found himſelf at leiſure to recover it by his no leſs admirable talents for government. Scarcely was the war concluded, when he began to diſplay his attention to domeſtic policy, and his care for the happineſs of his people.

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He immediately distributed lands to his disbanded soldiery; and gave them the horses of his artillery to assist them in their cultivation.

Europe is now pacified; and she begins happily to respire, after a more general and bloody war than any the world had experienced since that which which was terminated by the peace of Westphalia. As far as it is safe to judge concerning a system, which is subject to such great and unforeseen variations, and sometimes from very slight causes, this peace promises a considerable duration. The king of Prussia will hardly again commit his affairs, so miraculously retrieved, to the chances of war. He sees how dearly he has a second time purchased his conquest of Silesia, and he will hardly aim at new acquisitions. The empress queen, since she failed to reduce Silesia, or even to recover the smallest particle of her losses, with such an exertion of her own strength and with such an alliance as was never seen united before, and with which, she can never flatter herself again, must be convinced, how it is to attempt any change in the present system of Germany.

Whilst Russia remains circumstanced as she seems to be at present, there is a very good

good proſpect for the tranquillity of the north. France has turned her thoughts to a much wanted œconomy, and to the re-eſtabliſhment of her marine. She has reduced her land-forces by above one half. England, without leſſening the ordinary eſtabliſhment of her navy, has augmented her military, in conſequence of the extent of her conqueſts. The Bourbon courts are united, but weakened. The mutual jealouſy of the nations, which have been lately at war, continues; but their ſubjects of diſpute, and occaſions of animoſity, are much leſſened. This is as good a ſituation as could reaſonably be expected.

Though the war between the great powers was now concluded, yet from the aſhes of it, as it were, there ſuddenly burſt out a new fire, which involved us in hoſtilities with moſt of the Indian nations, who inhabit that vaſt tract of continent, for the poſſeſſion of which we had principally contended in the war, and which we had made the capital object in our treaty of peace. The cauſes and progreſs of this war we ſhall endeavour to explain in the beſt manner we are able. By the ſixth and ſeventh articles of the laſt treaty of peace, Canada was ceded to Great Britain in its utmoſt extent. This ſtretched the northern part of our poſſeſſions on the

continent of America from one ocean to the other. The ceſſion of Louiſiana to the Miſſiſſippi, and of the Spaniſh Florida on both ſeas, made our American empire compleat. No frontiers could be more diſtinctly defined, or more perfectly ſecured. The only object of attention, which ſeemed left to Great Britain, was to render theſe acquiſitions as beneficial in traffic, as they were extenſive in territory. An immenſe tract of uncultivated country was evidently to a commercial nation no great object in poſſeſſion; but it was a conſiderable one in hope; becauſe it contained an inexhauſtible variety of ſoils, climates, and ſituations, and thereby afforded ample materials for the exertion of wealth and ſkill in its improvement to all the purpoſes of trade. Theſe exertions were likely to be made, and to prove, in the end, ſufficiently effectual. Independent of national motives, the adminiſtration in England had a particular intereſt in improving thoſe acquiſitions to the utmoſt: they were to juſtify the choice they had made in preferring them to the Weſt India Iſlands. They therefore took very great pains to come at the knowledge of every thing which could tend to render our new conqueſts on that continent flouriſhing and commercial. For this purpoſe they judged

judged it expedient to divide them into three ſeparate and independent governments.

The firſt and moſt northerly of theſe diviſions was called the government of Quebec. It is bounded on the Labrador coaſt by the river of St. John, or Saguenay. This river forms the boundary of the colony, as it iſſues from the weſtward, till it falls into a lake, which it meets in its courſe, called the lake of St. John.

To fix the weſtern boundary, an imaginary line is here drawn from that lake to another, which is ſituated on the ſouth-weſt of it, and is called Nipiſſim. At this lake they changed the direction of the line, ſo as to make it croſs the river St. Laurence and the lake Champlain in forty five degrees of north-latitude; and this formed the ſouthern boundary. From thence ſtriking the line to the north-eaſt, they carried it quite to the gulp of St. Laurence, through the High-lands that ſeparate the rivers which fall into the great lake of Canada, from thoſe which fall into the ocean. This government is much leſs extenſive, almoſt upon every ſide, than the government of Canada, whilſt it continued in the hands of the French.

They divided the ſouthern part of our conqueſts on this continent into two governments, thoſe of Eaſt and Weſt Florida. The former was bounded, towards the north, by our colony of Georgia; to the eaſt and ſouth, by the Atlantic Ocean, and the gulph of Florida; and, on the weſt, by the river Apalachicola.

The latter, or Weſt Florida, was bounded, on the eaſt, by the ſame river. Its ſouthern frontier ran along the gulph of Mexico to the lake Pontchatrain, on one of the mouths of the Miſſiſſippi. This great river forms its boundary to the weſt in the thirty-firſt degree of latitude, from which a line was ſtruck acroſs for the northern limit, due eaſt, until it met the above mentioned river Apalachicola.

As to the ſhore of Labrador, and the adjacent iſlands in the gulph of St. Laurence, their value conſiſts, in a manner wholly, in the fiſhery carried on upon their coaſts. It is of importance to that branch of commerce to be under ſtrict regulations; and this could never be well compaſſed, unleſs the coaſt, near which it is carried on, was under a ſingle direction. With great judgment, therefore, all the coaſt of Labrador, from the river Saguenay to Hudſon's Streights, and all the neighbouring iſlands, were put under

under the care and inſpection of the governour of Newfoundland; but the iſlands of St. John and Cape Breton were annexed, as their ſituation required, to Nova Scotia.

The reader will obſerve, and poſſibly with ſome ſurprize, that, in this diviſion, much the largeſt, and perhaps the moſt valuable part of our conqueſts, does not fall into the way of theſe governments; that the environs of the great lakes, the fine countries on the whole courſe of the Ohio and Ouabache, and almoſt all that track of Louiſiana, which lies on the hither branch of the Miſſiſſippi, are none of them comprehended in this diſtribution.

Many reaſons may be aſſigned for this apparent omiſſion. A regard for the Indians was, we preſume, the principal, becauſe it might have given a ſenſible alarm to that people, if they had ſeen us formally cantoning out their whole country into regular eſtabliſhments. It was, probably, from this motive, that the royal proclamation of the ſeventeenth of October 1763, ſtrictly forbade any purchaſes or ſettlements beyond the limits of the above mentioned governments, or any extenſion of our old colonies beyond the heads of the rivers, which fall from the weſtward into the Atlantic ocean; reſerving expreſsly all the

territory behind these as an hunting ground for the Indians. The crown, however, retains its right of making purchases and agreements with the natives. This restraint is founded on reason and equity; but we cannot help observing, that the necessity of such a restraint seems to detract somewhat from the force of those arguments, which were used to prove the value of our acquisitions on that continent.

Another reason, we suppose, why no disposition has been made of the inland country, was, that the charters of many of our old colonies give them, with very few exceptions, no other bounds to the westward but the South Sea; and consequently these grants comprehended almost every thing we had conquered. These charters were granted when this continent was little known, and little valued. They were scarce then acquainted with any other western limits than the limits of America itself; and they were prodigal of what they considered as of no great importance. The colonies settled under royal governments have generally been laid out much in the same manner; and though the difficulties which arise on this quarter are not so great as in the former, they are yet sufficiently embarassing.

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Nothing would be more inconvenient, or would be attended with more abſurd conſequences, than to admit the execution of the powers in thoſe grants and diſtributions of territory in their full extent; but where the northern boundary of each colony ought to be ſettled, is a matter which muſt admit of great diſpute, and can, to all appearance, only be finally adjuſted by the interpoſition of parliament.

Until theſe difficulties can be removed, it will be impoſſible to think of forming any ſolid and advantageous ſettlement in the midland countries. In the mean time, the miniſtry of Great Britain omitted no means of improving thoſe parts which they could perfectly command. To encourage ſoldiers and ſeamen, who had ſerved in the American war, to ſettle there, and at the ſame time to reward their ſervices, lots of land were offered to the officers according to the rank which they held in the army and navy; five thouſand acres to a field-officer; to every captain three thouſand; to every ſubaltern two thouſand; to every non-commiſſioned officer two hundred; and to every private ſeaman and ſoldier fifty.

This was a very ample and a very judicious encouragement, and it will, no doubt, have its effect. But as no encouragement, un-

unconnected with the idea of liberty, can be flattering to a Briton, a civil eſtabliſhment, comprehending a popular repreſentative, agreeable to the plan of the royal governments in the other colonies, was directed to be formed, as ſoon as the circumſtances of theſe countries will admit; and, in the mean time, ſuch regulations are provided, as will ſuffer no Britiſh ſubject, in theſe new ſettlements, to feel the leaſt uneaſineſs about his freedom.

That nothing might be wanting for the ſecurity of new ſettlers, for the ſtability of the conqueſts we had made, and for awing as well as protecting the Indian nations, a regular military eſtabliſhment alſo was formed for this country, and for our Weſt-India iſlands, conſiſting often thouſand men divided into twenty battalions. Hitherto, theſe troops have been maintained by Great-Britain; but when every thing is perfectly adjuſted, they are to be paid, as is reaſonable, by the colonies they are intended to protect.

Few doubted, but that this prudent diſtribution of our new conqueſts, and the wiſe regulations eſtabliſhed for them, would draw, both from them, and from all our old ſettlements, thoſe advantages, on the proſpect of which we began the war, and

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to ſecure which was the capital object in the peace. But our principle and moſt ſanguine hope lay in that entire freedom, which our colonies were to enjoy, from all moleſtation of the Indians, ſince French intrigues could no longer be employed to ſeduce, or French force to ſupport them.

Unhappily, however, we were diſappointed in this expectation. Our danger aroſe from that very quarter, in which we imagined ourſelves in the moſt perfect ſecurity; and juſt at the time when we concluded the Indians to be entirely awed, and almoſt ſubjected by our power, they ſuddenly fell upon the frontiers of our moſt valuable ſettlements, and upon all our out-lying forts, with ſuch an unanimity in the deſign, and with ſuch ſavage fury in the attack, as we had never experienced even in the hotteſt time of any former war.

When the Indian nations ſaw the French power, as it were, annihilated in North-America, they began to imagine, that they ought to have made greater and earlier efforts in their favour. The Indians had not been, for a long time, ſo jealous of them as they were of us. The French ſeemed more intent on trade than ſettlement. Finding themſelves infinitely weaker than the Engliſh, they ſupplied, as well as they could, the

the place of ſtrength by policy, and paid a more regular and a more flattering attention to the Indians, than had ever been paid by us. Our ſuperiority in the late war rendered our regard to this people, which had been always too little, ſtill leſs. Decorums, which are as neceſſary, at leaſt, in dealing with barbarous as with civilized nations, were neglected. The uſual preſents were omitted. Contrary to the royal intentions, and the faith of treaties, ſettlements were made beyond our juſt limits. Purchaſes, indeed, were made of the lands, and ſometimes fair ones. But the Indians, conſcious of the weakneſs and facility of their own character in all dealings, have often conſidered a purchaſe and an invaſion as the ſame thing. They expect, that our reaſon ſhould rather aid, than take advantage of their imbecillity; and that we ſhould not ſuffer them, even when they are willing, to do thoſe things, which muſt finally end in their ruin and deſtruction. Our government has always conſidered Indian affairs in this light, and has even been as careful, as poſſible, to prevent ſuch private acquiſitions.

The Indians were farther alarmed, when they reflected on the ſituation of the places of ſtrength we had acquired by conqueſt and by treaty in their country. We poſſeſſed a chain

chain of forts upon the ſouth of the lake Erie, which commanded all the communications with the Ohio and the Miſſiſippi. We poſſeſſed the Detroit, which ſecures the communication of higher and lower America. We had drawn a chain of forts round the beſt hunting country they had left; and this circumſtance became of the more ſerious concern to them, as ſuch ground grew every day more ſcarce, not only from the gradual extenſion of our ſettlements, but from their bad œconomy of this ſingle reſource of ſavage life. They knew, beſides, that, as no part of America was more neceſſary to them, ſo none was more deſirable or proper for the purpoſes of an European eſtabliſhment; and they beheld, in every little garriſon, the ſeeds of a future colony.

Such was the precarious ſtate of affairs, when a ſuſpicion aroſe among the Indians, that a ſcheme was formed for their entire extirpation. This ſcheme, ſo horrid and barbarous, we are unwilling to believe could ever have been countenanced by any perſons of rank or authority in America. But the Indians ſeem to have been of a different opinion; and this apprehenſion, however ill founded, had no ſmall ſhare in exciting them to a renewal of hoſtilities.

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The Indians on the Ohio were the first in arms. In treating of American affairs, it is necessary to explain, not only the relative situation of the Indians and Europeans, but that of the Indian nations to one another; otherwise it will be difficult to account for the part, which many of these nations have acted upon some late occasions.

We have already hinted that a confederacy of savage tribes, whose principal residence is now to the south-east of Lake Ontario, and who are known by the name of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, made themselves the most considerable of all the Indian powers of America, about the middle of the last century, and that they maintained their dominion and superiority through the greater part of the present. They entirely subdued all the nations upon three of the great lakes, and upon all the rivers which fall into the Mississippi. They were very near effecting a total expulsion of the French from America, and, for a long time, wasted their colony of Canada with a most cruel war. But having sustained some repulses in that war, becoming perhaps jealous of the growing power of the English, and finding among the Indian nations nothing that was capable or willing to

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give them any disturbance, they resumed, in a short time, a more peaceable temper, and began to enjoy the fruit of that sovereignty, for which they had so long and so earnestly contended.

The historians of our colonies represent this people as originally of very pure and severe manners. But they were corrupted by an intercourse with those nations, by whose debauchery they had been enabled to conquer them. Luxury, of which there may be a species even among savages, by degrees enervated the fierce virtue of the Iroquois, and weakened their empire, as it has done that of so many others. Their numbers already diminished by the ravages of war, were still more impaired by the effects of luxury; and the renown of their name, rather than their real power, for some time preserved that high and haughty authority, which they had so long exercised over a great part of America.

During this latter period, some of the Indian nations, who dwelt near the new settled parts of Pensylvania, particularly the Shawanese and Delawars, who lived upon the rivers Delawar and Susquehanna, retired, as the cultivation of the country advanced, back upon the Ohio, and seated

themſelves there; but they changed their ancient ſeats, with the approbation and conſent of the Iroquois, whoſe ſubjects they had been, and ſtill continued to be, after this migration.

At the beginning of the late war, theſe were the Indians who committed the moſt cruel and terrible ravages upon our frontiers. They attached themſelves entirely to the French intereſt; and their maſters, the Iroquois, rather encouraged then reſtrained them. By degrees they attained a practice and a reputation in arms, which made them formidable. And having obſerved that the ſavages have never become conſiderable but by an incorporation of ſeveral of their nations into one, they confederated with the other tribes, that were ſcattered along the Ohio, behind the Alleganey mountains; and the whole, thus united, formed a powerful and well compacted body.

Their ſucceſs in their incurſions, and an advantageous treaty of peace, which they concluded with our colonies, inflamed their ambition to ſuch a degree, that, about the cloſe of the war, they ſet up as an independent people. The league of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, was not, perhaps, able to prevent their progreſs; and more fearful of

of the growth of European than of Indian power, ſeems to have given no ſort of oppoſition to their pretenſions.

Thus a ſilent revolution was accompliſhing the ballance of ſavage empire in America. This body of Indians appear to have united themſelves with the higher nations, towards Detroit in their preſent deſigns, and to have armed againſt us a great part of that continent. The moſt temperate and conſiderable part of the Iroquois were, though not without much difficulty, kept out of theſe hoſtilities by the indefatigable pains of Sir William Johnſon, who has always exerted his influence on this people for the good of his country. One only of theſe nations, (the Senecas) are ſaid to have violated their neutrality. Our colonies muſt have been in the moſt imminent danger of being totally deſtroyed, had the ſavages on this continent been unanimous in their attack upon us. Fortunately, not only the Five Nations, or the Iroquois, continued inactive, but the powerful nation of the Cherokees had ſtill ſuch an impreſſion of their late chaſtiſement, that they attempted no motions, but kept the peace concluded with the Carolinians with great fidelity.

The Indians had no ſooner reſolved upon hoſtilities, than they determined to make a general and ſudden attack upon all our frontier ſettlements in the time of harveſt; to deſtroy all the men they met; to cut off their proviſions from thoſe who might eſcape: and thus to ſtrike at the root of the war, the ſubſiſtence, in their very entrance upon action.

This plan was very artfully contrived; but the precipitancy of ſome of their warriors defeated in part the more methodical and deliberate miſchief of the reſt, and by giving too early an alarm afforded an opportunity to part of our people to eſcape with their effects. Great numbers were, nevertheleſs, cut off, the crops ruined, and their houſes burned, with all thoſe circumſtances of ſavage cruelty, with which an Indian war is always attended, and which it is always diſguſting to relate.

On this incurſion, all the frontier country of Penſylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, was immediately deſerted from twenty miles inwards, and thouſands of hopeful ſettlements, the labour of years, at once abandoned. All the travelling merchants, who, on the ſecurity of the general peace, traded in the Indian country, were murdered, and their effects, it is ſaid, to the amount of

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ſome hundred thouſand pounds, plundered. This blow was ſeverely felt by all the great trading towns in America.

What was of greater military importance, the forts, which the French had erected to the ſouthward of Lake Erie in very advantageous ſituations, were taken. Theſe were, Le Boeuf, Venango, and Preſqu'iſle. Though theſe forts were not in themſelves very conſiderable, the heads of all the navigable rivers, which run to the ſouthward, are, in a good meaſure, commanded by them, and they alone ſecured a communication between the places which we poſſeſſed above the lakes, and our principal poſt of Fort Pitt to the ſouthward.

In making themſelves maſters of theſe forts, weak as they were, the Indians were obliged to have recourſe to ſtratagem. Whenever they attacked any of them, they perſuaded the garriſon that they had cut off all the others; they intimidated them with the number of Indians, which they ſaid were approaching; and upon a promiſe of ſafety, which they commonly violated, induced them to abandon their quarters. By ſimilar artifices they got poſſeſſion of ſome other forts, and particularly that of Michillimakinac, the remoteſt of all our poſts, and the only one which we poſſeſſed to-

wards Lake Superior; that of St. Mary's having been consumed by an accidental fire. After their success in these instances, there still remained three posts of considerable strength, and important for their situation, which it was necessary that they should subdue, before they could expect any permanent advantage. These were Detroit, between the Lakes Huron and Erie; Niagara, between the Lakes Erie and Ontario; and Fort Pitt, which checked them on the Ohio. The Indians were sensible, that but a few links of the chain were broken, whilst these fortresses remained; and against them, therefore, they determined to exert the utmost efforts of their strength and policy.

Our commander in chief, apprized of the danger to which all our new conquests were exposed, by the sudden breaking out of this dangerous war, detached, as early as possible, some strong bodies of soldiers to reinforce those garrisons. The detachment sent to Detroit, where it had been much wanted, arrived on the twenty ninth day of July. The officer who commanded this party, captain Dalyell, having received some intelligence, upon which he thought he had reason to depend, concerning the situation of the Indian army which lay near

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that fort, perſuaded the commander that thoſe ſavages might be eaſily ſurpriſed in their camp, and driven for ever from the ſettlement.

It was therefore reſolved to make an attack upon the Indians, whoſe quarters were about three miles from the fort. Captain Dalyell commanded about two hundred and ſeventy men in this attempt. They ſet out between two and three in the morning with all the precautions poſſible for ſecrecy, for order in their march, and, what is of no ſmall conſequence in all campaigns in America, for preventing their wounded ſoldiers from falling into the hands of a barbarous enemy.

They were not yet arrived at the Indian camp, when they were unexpectedly ſaluted with a ſmart fire in their front. Inſtantly after, it was renewed upon their rear. They were attacked upon all ſides, and their commander fell in the very beginning of the action. The darkneſs of the night prevented them from ſeeing the enemy, and the whole party was on the point of falling into irreparable diſorder. The Indians had been early appriſed of their deſign; had lined all their hedges, poſted themſelves in ſome houſes, well ſituated for annoying the Engliſh in their march; and had taken very proper

proper measures, which were prosecuted with great spirit and perseverance. Instead of surprising the Indians, our troops were themselves surprised, surrounded, and in the most imminent danger of a total defeat.

In this emergency, the second in command, captain Grant, saw that nothing remained but a speedy retreat. But in order to make this retreat with success, it was necessary to make a brisk attack upon the enemy's posts. This was done with order and resolution. The Indians were driven from the roads, and at length repulsed in every quarter. The English extricated themselves from this disagreeable affair, and got back to the fort with the loss of only seventy men killed, and about forty wounded.

Such an engagement in an European war would be considered as a skirmish scarce worthy of relation; but in America a great deal is often determined by such actions. We have scarcely any other kind of engagements with savages. Neither their manner of fighting, nor the scanty population of their country, will permit the Indians to bring large bodies into the field.

The ill success of this attempt checked all further offensive operations on our side.

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On the ſide of the Indians, no attempts were made to reduce the fort, in conſequence of the advantage they had gained. Their ignorance of the art of beſieging towns, the ſtrength of the garriſon, exceeding three hundred men, and the vigilance which their expoſed ſituation, and the artifices of the enemy had taught our people, deprived them of all hopes of ſucceeding in the enterprize.

The theatre of this Indian war was of an immenſe extent; yet the ſavages, though of ſo many different nations, and disjointed by ſuch immenſe tracts of impaſſable country, preſerved an uncommon degree of concert and connection in their operations. At the ſame time that they attempted Detroit, at more than two hundred miles diſtance, they inveſted Fort Pitt. It was originally called Du Queſne; and the reader will recollect that the building of this fort coſt the French the greateſt part of North America, as it gave the immediate occaſion to the late war. It commanded the whole courſe of the great river Ohio. It ſtands at the conflux of that river with another called Monongahela. In point of ſituation, Fort Pitt may be conſidered as a place of ſome ſtrength; but the works had never been fully completed, and they had ſuffered conſiderably

ſiderably by an inundation from the rivers which cover it.

In this condition the Indians ſurrounded the fort, and cut off all communication from it, even by meſſage. Theſe barbarians were deſtitute of cannon, and were, beſides, ignorant of the method of attacking by trenches, and the uſual forms of a regular ſiege. But they ſupplied, in ſome meaſure, their want of ſkill, by their incredible boldneſs and perſeverance. They hoped to reduce the garriſon by keeping it perpetually harraſſed. If they failed in this method, they truſted to make themſelves maſters of the place by famine. Regardleſs of danger, and with a reſolution which would have done honour to any troops, they took poſt under the banks of the rivers, cloſe to the fort, and burying themſelves in holes for days together, they poured in an inceſſant ſtorm of muſquetry and fire-arrows.

Captain Ecuyer, who commanded the garriſon, though weak in men, unprovided of engines, and ill ſupplied with every neceſſary for ſuſtaining a ſiege, took all the precautions which art and judgment could ſuggeſt, for repairing the works and repulſing the enemy. His men ſeconded his efforts with undaunted reſolution. There

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was no trifling with the danger, when they were attacked by an enemy, whom it was ſo difficult to reſiſt, and to whom, at the ſame time, it was ſo terrible to ſubmit.

General Amherſt, in providing for the ſafety of the remote garriſons, did not forget Fort Pitt. He knew that this place lay moſt expoſed to the attacks of the enemy. Its ſituation ſpoke its danger; and no expreſs from thence having arrived for a long time, that danger appeared to be preſſing. Without delay, therefore, he ſent to its relief a large quantity of military ſtores and proviſions, protected by a powerful eſcort under the command of colonel Bouquet.

The colonel, when he had advanced to the remoteſt verge of our ſettlements, could receive no ſort of intelligence of the poſition or motions of the enemy. This is often a very perplexing circumſtance in the conduct of an American campaign. The Indians had better intelligence; and no ſooner were they apprized of the march of the Engliſh reinforcement, than they broke up the ſiege of Fort Pitt, and took the route which they knew our army was to march, reſolving to ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity of attacking them by ſurprize. In ſuch a critical ſituation colonel Bouquet determined, very prudently, to diſengage himſelf

ſelf of all the ammunition and proviſion, except what he judged to be abſolutely neceſſary. Being thus diſincumbered, the Engliſh army entered a rough and mountainous country. Before them lay a dangerous defile, called Turtle Creek, ſeveral miles in length, commanded on both ſides by high and craggy hills. This defile, after refreſhing the troops, they intended to paſs in the night, and thereby elude, if poſſible, the vigilance of ſo alert an enemy.

On the fifth day of Auguſt, while the Engliſh troops were making the neceſſary arrangements, about one in the afternoon, after a fatiguing march of ſeventeen miles, and juſt as they were preparing to relax from their labour, they were ſuddenly attacked by the Indians on their advanced guard; which being ſpeedily and firmly ſupported, the enemy was beat off, and even purſued to a conſiderable diſtance. But the flight of theſe barbarians muſt often be conſidered as a part of the engagement, (if we may uſe the expreſſion) rather than a dereliction of the field. The moment the purſuit ended, they returned with redoubled ardour to the attack. Several other parties, who had been in ambuſh in ſome high grounds which lay along the flanks of the army, now ſtarted up at once, and advanc-

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ing with a reſolution equal to that of their companions, galled our troops with a moſt obſtinate fire.

It was neceſſary to make a general charge with the whole line to diſlodge them from theſe heights. This charge ſucceeded; but ſtill the ſucceſs produced no deciſive advantage; for as ſoon as the ſavages were driven from one poſt, they conſtantly appeared on another, till by conſtant reinforcements they were at length able to ſurround the whole detachment, and attack the convoy which had been left in the rear.

This manœuvre obliged the main body to fall back in order to protect it. The action, which grew every moment more and more warm, now became general. Our troops were attacked on every ſide; the ſavages ſupported the charge with incredible ſpirit; but the ſteady behaviour of the Engliſh troops, who were not thrown into the leaſt confuſion by the very diſcouraging nature of this ſervice, in the end prevailed: they repulſed the enemy, and drove them from all their poſts with fixed bayonets. The engagement terminated only with the day, having continued from one o'clock without the leaſt intermiſſion.

The ground, in which the action ended, was not altogether inconvenient for an en-

campment. The convoy and the wounded were in the middle, and the troops, diſpoſed in a circle, ſurrounded the whole. In this manner, and with very little repoſe, they paſſed an anxious night, obliged to the ſtricteſt vigilance by an enterprizing enemy who had environed them.

Thoſe who have only experienced the ſeverities and dangers of a campaign in Europe, can ſcarcely form an idea of what is to be done and endured in an American war. To act in a country cultivated and inhabited, where roads are made, magazines eſtabliſhed, and hoſpitals provided; where there are good towns to retreat to, in caſe of misfortune; or, at the worſt, a generous enemy to yield to, from whom no conſolation, but the honour of victory, can be wanting; this may be conſidered as the exerciſe of a ſpirited and adventurous mind, rather than a rigid conteſt where all is at ſtake, and mutual deſtruction the object: and as a contention between rivals for glory, rather than a real ſtruggle between ſanguinary enemies. But in an American campaign every thing is terrible; the face of the country, the climate, the enemy. There is no refreſhment for the healthy, nor relief for the ſick. A vaſt unhoſpitable deſart, dreary and dangerous, ſurrounds them,

them, where victories are not decisive, but defeats are ruinous; and simple death is the least misfortune they can possibly expect. This forms a service truly critical, in which all the firmness of the body and the mind is put to the severest trial; and all the exertions of courage and address are called out. If the actions of these rude campaigns are of less dignity, the adventures in them are more interesting to the heart, and more amusing to the imagination, than the events of a regular war.

But to return to the party of English, whom we left in the woods. At the first dawn of light the savages began to discover themselves, all about the camp, at the distance of about five hundred yards; and by shouting and yelling in the most horrid manner, quite round that extensive circumference, endeavoured to strike terror by an ostentation of their numbers, and their ferocity.

After this alarming preparative, they attacked our forces, and, under the favour of an incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate into the camp. They were repulsed in every attempt, but by no means discouraged from new ones. Our troops, continually victorious, were continually in danger. They were greatly exhausted by

a long march, and by the equally long action, of the preceding day; and they laboured under the farther disadvantage of a total want of water, much more intolerable than the enemy's fire.

Confined to their convoy, they could not lose sight of it for a moment, without exposing, not only that interesting object, but their wounded men, to fall a prey to the savages, who pressed them on every side. To move was impracticable. Many of the horses were lost, and many of the drivers, stupefied by their fears, hid themselves in the bushes, and were incapable of hearing or obeying orders.

Their situation became extremely critical and dangerous, having experienced that the most lively efforts made no impression upon an enemy, who always gave way when pressed; but who, the moment the pursuit was over, returned with as much alacrity as ever to the attack. Besieged rather than engaged; attacked without interruption, and without decision; able neither to advance nor to retreat, they saw before them the most melancholy prospect of crumbling away by degrees, and entirely perishing without revenge or honour, in the midst of those dreadful deserts. The fate of Braddock was every moment before their eyes; but

but from ſuch a cataſtrophe they were happily delivered by the able and ſpirited conduct of their commander.

This gentleman was ſenſible that every thing depended upon bringing the ſavages to a cloſe engagement, and to ſtand their ground when attacked. Their audaciouſneſs, which had encreaſed with their ſucceſs, ſeemed favourable to this deſign. He endeavoured, therefore, to add to their confidence as much as poſſible.

For that purpoſe he contrived the following ſtratagem. Our troops had been poſted on an eminence, and formed a circle round their convoy ſince the preceding night, which order they ſtill retained. Colonel Bouquet gave directions, that two companies of his troops, who had been poſted in the moſt advanced ſituations, ſhould retire within the circle; in conſequence of which the troops on the right and left immediately opened their files, and filled up the vacant ſpace, that they might ſeem to recover their retreat. Another company of light infantry, with one of grenadiers, were ordered to ſupport the two firſt companies, who moved on the feigned retreat, and were intended to begin the real attack. The diſpoſitions were well made, and the plan executed without the leaſt confuſion.

The ſavages gave entirely into the ſnare. The thin line of troops, which took poſſeſſion of the ground which the two companies of light foot had left, being brought nearer to the center of the circle, the barbarians miſtook thoſe motions for a retreat, came out of the woods which covered them, ruſhed headlong on, and advancing with the moſt daring intrepidity, galled the Engliſh troops with their heavy fire. But at the very moment, when, certain of ſucceſs, they thought themſelves maſters of the camp, the two firſt companies made a ſudden turn, and ſallying out from a part of the hill which could not be obſerved, fell furiouſly upon their right flank.

The ſavages, though they found themſelves diſappointed and expoſed, preſerved their recollection, and reſolutely returned the fire which they had received. Then it was that the ſuperiority of combined ſtrength and diſcipline appeared. On the ſecond charge they could no longer withſtand the irreſiſtible ſhock of the regular troops, who ruſhing upon them, killed many, and put the reſt to flight.

At the inſtant when the ſavages began to fly, the other two companies, which had been ordered to ſuſtain the firſt, had placed themſelves juſt in their front, and gave them

them their full fire. This compleated their defeat. The four companies, now united, did not give them time to look behind them, but purſued the enemy, till they were totally diſperſed.

The other bodies of the ſavages attempted nothing. They were kept in awe during the engagement by the reſt of the Britiſh troops, who were ſo poſted as to be ready to fall on them upon the leaſt motion. Having been witneſſes to the defeat of their companions, without any effort to ſupport or aſſiſt them, they at length followed their example and fled.

This judicious and ſucceſsful manœuvre reſcued the party from the moſt imminent danger. The victory ſecured the field, and cleared all the adjacent woods. But ſtill the march was ſo difficult, and the army had ſuffered ſo much, and ſo many horſes were loſt, that before they were able to proceed they were reluctantly compelled to deſtroy almoſt their whole convoy of proviſions, and conſequently to give up one of the principal objects of their expedition.

Being lightened by this ſacrifice, they advanced about two miles further, and encamped in a placed called Buſhy Run. After ſuch fatigues on their part, and after the ſevere correction they had given the

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ſavages in the preceding action, it was natural that they ſhould expect to enjoy ſome repoſe. But they had hardly fixed their camp, when the ſavages were in ambuſcade about them, and gave them another fire. Nothing could be more mortifying. However, the enemy did not perſevere in this attack; and, except from a few ſcattered ſhot, our troops ſuffered no moleſtation on the road, but arrived ſafe at Fort Pitt, in four days after the action.

By this reinforcement that important poſt was effectually ſecured. The enemy was weakened and diſheartened by the loſs of above ſixty men which they had loſt in the late engagements, beſides a number that were wounded in the purſuit. This was conſidered by the ſavages as a conſiderable loſs. Beſides ſome of their braveſt captains, and thoſe who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their animoſity to the Engliſh, fell upon this occaſion; and in them no mean part of the fuel of the war was conſumed. Colonel Bouquet who commanded, and all the officers, gained great honour by their firmneſs and preſence of mind, and the dexterity of their movements during the two encounters, and on the whole march. In theſe engagement we had fifty men killed.

killed. The wounded amounted to about ſixty.

The Indians, thus checked by the ſeaſonable ſupplies which were thrown into Detroit, and Fort Pitt, were not diſcouraged from further attempts. Niagara was a place equally worthy of their regard, and they endeavoured to diſtreſs it by every method, which their ſmall ſkill in attacking fortified places would permit. They chiefly directed their attention to the convoys. They hoped to ſtarve what they could not otherwiſe reduce. The vaſt diſtance of theſe forts from each other, and of all of them from the ſettled countries, favoured their deſign. For which reaſon they carefully watched the convoys both by land and water. On the fourteenth of September, in the neighbourhood of Niagara, they ſurrounded an eſcort, with very ſuperior numbers, ſlew upwards of ſeventy of our ſoldiers, and deſtroyed the whole detachment. On the Lake Erie, with a croud of canoes, they attacked a ſchooner, which conveyed proviſions to the fort of Detroit; but here they were not ſo ſucceſsful. Though in this ſavage navy they had employed near four hundred men, and had but a ſingle veſſel to engage, they were repulſed, after an hot engagement, with conſiderable loſs.

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This veſſel was to them as a floating bulwark; and they could not make their attacks with ſo much advantage as upon the convoys by land.

In the courſe of this war the Indians were guilty of ſeveral other barbarities; but at length, by the ſpirited conduct of the colonels Bouquet and Bradſtreet, they were, in September of the ſucceeding year, awed into peace, and obliged to ſubmit on the following conditions: that in twenty-five days after the ratification of the articles, they ſhould deliver up all the priſoners that were in their hands: that they ſhould renounce all claim to the poſts and forts we then had in their country: that we ſhould be at liberty to erect as many more as we ſhould think neceſſary to ſecure our trade; and that they ſhould cede to us, for ever, as much land round each fort, as a cannon-ſhot can fly over, on which our people might raiſe proviſions: that if any Indian hereafter ſhould kill any Engliſhman, he ſhould be delivered up by his nation, and tried by the Engliſh laws, only to have half the jury Indians; and if any one of the nations ſhould renew the war, the reſt ſhould join us to bring them to reaſon: that ten of the deputies, who aſſiſted at the congreſs, ſhould remain with us as hoſtages,

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and one of our Indians ſhould proceed immediately to acquaint the nations with the terms of peace, and forward the collecting of the priſoners, in order to be ready at the time appointed. Some infractions of this treaty were afterwards committed; but none that could threaten a general renewal of the war, or greatly endanger the ſafety of any of our colonies.

Before we leave America, it may not be improper to take notice of a remarkable mutiny which happened at Quebec in the courſe of this year. General Murray, governour of that place, having given orders, in conſequence of injunctions received from the commander in chief in America, that four pence ſterling ſhould be ſtopped for each ration of proviſions to be iſſued to the forces under his command, conſiſting of the fifteenth and twenty-ſeventh, and the ſecond battalion of the ſixtieth regiment; the troops were no ſooner made acquainted with this order, than, that very evening, immediately after roll calling, they aſſembled to a man, but without arms, and paraded before the governor's houſe. Before they ſaw him, ſome of the Engliſh merchants having the boldneſs to reproach them for their behaviour, they began to pelt them with ſtones. Some officers interfered, and drew

drew their ſwords; on which the ſoldiers ran in a tumultuous manner to their barracks, took their arms, and marched in good order, with drums beating, towards St. John's Gate.

They were met by the governor, who, in the beginning of the tumult, had in vain endeavoured to aſſemble the piquets. He came then from viſiting the guards, and was attended only by a few officers and ſerjeants, with whoſe aſſiſtance he oppoſed their going any further. Enraged at this ſtop, ſome of the mutineers fired their pieces, but happily no miſchief was done. Notwithſtanding the repeated inſtances of the governor, they would not hear him, but loudly declared their reſolution to march to New York, with two pieces of cannon, and lay their arms at general Amherſt's feet; profeſſing, at the ſame time, they had no pique at him or their officers, whom they loved and eſteemed, but that it was impoſſible for them to live without their proviſions.

All the officers of the garriſon had now joined the governor, and the town major, lieutenant Mills of the forty-ninth regiment, had prudently, with the few men that ſtaid with him, ſhut the gates. Though the ſoldiers appeared mad with rage, not one man being

being drunk, and had already ſtruck ſeveral officers, yet the governor ſucceeded ſo far as to keep them together, and by that means, in all probability, prevented the town from being plundered, to which the darkneſs of the night was at that hour but too favourable.

By the urgent ſollicitations of the officers, who exerted themſelves to the utmoſt on this occaſion, the ſoldiers were at laſt prevailed on to march to the grand parade, where the governor addreſſed them file by file, and did all he could to appeaſe them; but in vain. They obſtinately perſiſted, that they would not ſubmit to the ſtoppage of proviſions, but ſtill made proteſtations of loyalty, and of perſonal regard to their officers; and when the governor ordered them to march to their barracks, and behave as ſoldiers ought, till their grievances were laid before the commander in chief, they obeyed, repeating their declaration, that they would not ſerve without proviſions. During the remainder of the night all remained quiet.

Next day the guards mounted in good order, as uſual. General Murray called together the commiſſioned and non commiſſioned officers, to whom he repreſented the neceſſity of reducing the ſoldiers to obedi-

ence, or perishing in the attempt. This garrison being the strongest in America, should these mutineers obtain their desire, their example would be followed by all the troops throughout America, and an universal revolt from order would be the consequence. Their situation therefore required the utmost exertion, and the most vigorous measures were necessary for the service of their country.

It was agreed that mild methods should be taken; and that day and the next were spent by the officers, in using all manner of persuasions, to induce the soldiers to submit to the order, but with small success. On the afternoon of the twentieth, the governor harangued each battalion in the strongest and most affecting manner, which seemed to have some effect. He then ordered the garrison to be under arms next day at ten o'clock, on the grand parade.

When they were assembled, the governor himself read the articles of war, and after painting to them in the strongest terms the enormity of their crime, he declared his fixed resolution, with the assistance of the officers, to oblige them to submit, or to perish in the attempt.

He then went to the head of Amherst's grenadiers, determined to put to death the first

firſt man that refuſed to obey. He commanded them, in ſign of compliance with orders, to march betwixt two royal colours, planted for that purpoſe. They did ſo, and returned with chearfulneſs to their duty, expreſſing ſorrow for their paſt behaviour; and all the reſt followed their example. The general then declared they had recovered their character as good ſoldiers, and reſtored the battalions to their colours.

Their behaviour ſince has been ſuch as it was ever before this affair, deſerving of the higheſt praiſe, and ſuch as gives reaſon to all who know them, to wiſh that no indulgence (if ſo neceſſary an article as proviſions to ſoldiers in America muſt be called ſo) may be taken away from troops, who have deſerved ſo well as they have done of their country.

In the month of Sepember a terrible accident happened in Jamaica. The powder magazine of Fort Auguſta, (the beſt fortreſs in the iſland) blew up by lightning; and the exploſion was ſo great, that not a ſingle ſtone of the foundation could be obſerved on the place where the magazine ſtood, which was ſo hollowed, as to form a pond upwards of twenty feet in depth, fifty in breadth, and at leaſt one hundred in length from whence many ſprings of water iſſued.

Moſt of the guns, twenty-four pounders, on the baſtion contiguous, were diſmounted, part almoſt buried in the rubbiſh, and one carried more then a hundred yards from its place. Within the fort every thing was terribly ſhattered; the commandant's houſe, the officers barracks, a fine brick building, and all the ſmall houſes in and about the garriſon, were rent to pieces. A great number of men, women, and children, were killed and wounded within the works; and two ſoldiers, far up the bay, were killed, and ſome wounded at the diſtance of a mile. Captain Talbot, lieutenant Dunbar with his lady, and enſign Keating periſhed in the ruins: the lieutenants Dunn and Manſell were much bruiſed, the latter mortally. The killed were computed at thirty-whites, and eleven negroes. The magazine and fort were built by admiral Knowles, and eſteemed the beſt in the Weſt-Indies; the walls were ſixteen feet thick. The loſs ſuſtained, excluſive of two thouſand eight hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder, was ſuppoſed to amount to upwards of fifteen thouſand pounds. The concuſſion was felt ten miles round.

Having thus given an account of the late treaty of peace, and the moſt remarkable incidents that happened in the Weſt-Indies, we ſhall

ſhall now proceed to relate ſuch tranſactions as principally diſtinguiſhed this year in Great-Britain. Never at any former period was the ſpirit of luxury and extravagance carried to a higher pitch, nor attended with more fatal conſequences. Among theſe we may reckon a remarkable inſtance of forgery, which deſerves to be recorded. One Rice, an exchange broker, of a fair character in trade, and thought to be poſſeſſed of conſiderable property, had been commiſſioned by a lady to receive her dividends of South-ſea ſtock, and to ſend it to her in the country. His own affairs, however, being greatly involved, he forged a letter of attorney from this lady, impowering him to ſell her ſtock, to the amount of ſeveral thouſand pounds, and it is ſaid he practiſed the ſame fraud upon others of his employers, without their ſuſpecting the matter, as he regularly remitted them their dividends, and ſometimes even replaced the capital. His neceſſities, however, becoming every day more and more preſſing, he was unable to remain longer without detection, eſpecially as he underſtood that the lady, whom he had defrauded, was coming up to town, and would infallibly diſcover the forgery. The remains of his fortune, beſides his furniture and equipages, which were very ele-

gant, amounted to five thousand pounds, four thousand five hundred of which he deposited with his wife, in bank bills, and privately withdrew, with the remainder, to Harwich, from whence he procured a passage to Holland, leaving orders with his wife, who rather suspected, than knew, his circumstances, to follow him. She accordingly took shipping for Holland, but being forced back to Harwich, she fell into the hands of those who were in pursuit of her husband. Being brought up to London, and examined before the lord-mayor, she readily gave up the bank-notes that were in her hands; and returned such candid and ingenuous answers to the questions put to her, that the directors of the South-Sea company, who took the loss upon themselves, generously allowed her a pension.

The crime committed by Rice was of the most dangerous tendency, especially in a commercial country, and indeed became a common concern to all the traders in Europe, who had any connections of credit. The English government thought the offence of such a nature, that no local protection was due to the offender, and the place of his retreat was soon discovered by a letter which he wrote to his agent, who

who immediately delivered it to the lord-mayor. By this it appeared that he had taken refuge in Cambray. The juncture was favourable for bringing him to punishment, as the duke of Bedford was then negotiating the peace at Paris, and the French court was willing to oblige that of Great-Britain. His grace, accordingly, by his majesty's order, applied to have Rice apprehended at Cambray, which was immediately done, and he was sent over to England, where he was tried at the Old Bailey for forgery, convicted, and executed; but it appeared he had no accomplices.

Considering the great number of lives that are frequently lost by fire in this vast metropolis, it is surprizing that some more effectual methods are not taken to guard, as much as possible, against such a dreadful calamity. In the month of May of this year a most melancholy accident of this kind happened in Upper Brook-Street, Grosvenor-Square. The house of lady Molesworth was, by some means, set on fire, and, in the space of a few hours, entirely reduced to ashes. Her ladyship, her brother capt. Usher, her second and third daughters, and four or five servants perished in the flames. As soon as her ladyship discovered the danger, she threw out a feather-bed, forced her

her eldeſt daughter, of eighteen, to take the advantage of it, by throwing herſelf out of the window, and calmly aſſiſted her in ſo doing; notwithſtanding which the young lady broke her leg. Her ladyſhip was preparing to follow; but being ſuffocated by the ſmoke, ſhe was ſeen by a lady in an oppoſite window, after a ſhort recommendation of herſelf to heaven, to ſink down at once in the room. Her fourth and fifth daughters jumped out of a garret window; the firſt broke her thigh, and the latter was miſerably bruiſed. Dr. Coote Moleſworth, with his lady, being on a viſit to her ladyſhip, became a part of this unfortunate family. The doctor's lady being much ſcorched, threw herſelf from a two pair of ſtairs window into the garden, and was terribly bruiſed; the doctor hung by his hands till a ladder was brought him. Lord Moleſworth, a youth of thirteen, and only ſon of the family, was ſaved by being ſent back to ſchool over-night, to make room for the doctor and his lady. An elderly gentlewoman, governeſs to the children, threw herſelf out of a window in the nurſery, and was killed on the ſpot. One of the footmen jumped out of a two pair of ſtairs window, and fell upon the iron ſpikes, where he hung till a chairman took him off at the hazard

hazard of his life: he was carried to St. George's hospital, but died in two or three days.

Many conjectures were formed concerning the cause of this fire; some attributing it to a candle being carelessly left burning near a musick-book, and so setting fire to a harpsichord, on which it stood; and others to a flambeau being thrown into a dark place under the stairs, without being thoroughly extinguished. But all agreed, that its not being timely discovered was entirely owing to the watchmen being permitted to leave their stands, much earlier than is proper in a part of the town, where the streets being no great thoroughfares, and being, besides, inhabited almost wholly by persons of fashion, are a mere desart till between six and seven; or at least to the watchmen leaving their stands much earlier than permitted. It was said, however, that many more might have escaped, had not her ladyship's room been in a blaze, before the bulk of the family discovered their danger; so that there was no coming at the key of the street door, which her ladyship used to have brought to her every night.

His majesty was no sooner made acquainted with this catastrophe, than he sent the young ladies a handsome present, ordered a house to be taken and furnished for them at

at his expence, and not only continued to them the penſion ſettled on the mother, but gratified them likewiſe with an additional annuity.

On the ſixteenth day of Auguſt the king and his ſubjects received an addition of happineſs, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion an additional ſecurity by the birth of a ſecond prince, who was baptiſed by the name of Frederick, and, ſoon after, preſented to the biſhopric of Oſnaburg, the right of preſentation being veſted, by turns, in the electoral houſe of Brunſwick.

On the nineteenth of the ſame month, about twelve at noon, the ſky, for ſeveral miles round London, was overcaſt in ſuch a manner, that the darkneſs exceeded that of the great eclipſe in 1748, and greatly reſembled that which preceded the laſt great earthquake at Liſbon. This darkneſs was occaſioned by a black ſulphureous cloud, which aroſe in the northweſt, and, attended with hail, rain, wind, and lightning, drove furiouſly over London, and then diſcharged itſelf chiefly on the county of Kent; where, in rapidity and fierceneſs, the ſtorm reſembled a tornardo, ſo as to kill fowl, and even ſheep, and, in near twenty pariſhes, deſtroy all hopes of any kind of crop, to the amount of near fifty thouſand pounds.

The

The hailſtones are ſaid to have meaſured from two to ten inches in circumference, and ſome taken up, on the fourth of the following month, ſtill meaſured four inches and a half round. Of the ſtones ſome were globular; others like flat pieces of ice frozen together: heaps and ridges of them lay by the hedges three and four feet deep. But the moſt ſurprizing circumſtance that attended this phænomenon, was the ſudden flux and reflux of the tide in Plymouth pool, exactly correſponding with the like agitation in the ſame place, at the time of the great earthquake at Liſbon.

Having thus exhibited a brief but accurate view of the more private incidents which diſtinguiſhed this year in England, we ſhall now relate, with all poſſible impartiality, the principal tranſactions that occurred in the parliament.

On the nineteenth day of April, his majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers, and the commons attending as uſual, he concluded the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I informed you at your firſt meeting that preliminary articles were ſigned by my mi-

miniſter and thoſe of France and Spain; I ordered them to be laid before you, and the ſatisfaction I felt at the approaching re-eſtabliſhment of peace, upon conditions ſo honourable to my crown, and ſo beneficial to my people, was highly encreaſed by my receiving from both houſes of parliament the ſtrongeſt and moſt grateful expreſſions of their entire approbation. Theſe articles have been eſtabliſhed, and even rendered ſtill more advantageous to my ſubjects, by the definitive treaty, and my expectations have been fully anſwered by the happy effects which the ſeveral allies of my crown have derived from this ſalutary meaſure. The powers at war with my good brother the king of Pruſſia, have been induced to agree to ſuch terms of accommodation as that great prince has approved, and the ſucceſs, which has attended my negotiation, has neceſſarily and immediately diffuſed the bleſſings of peace through every part of Europe.

"I acquainted you with my firm reſolution to form my government on a plan of ſtrict œconomy. The reductions neceſſary for this purpoſe ſhall be compleated with all poſſible expedition; and although the army maintained in theſe kingdoms will be inferior in number to that uſually kept up in for-

former times of peace, yet I trust that the force proposed, with the establishment of the national militia, (whose services I have experienced, and cannot too much commend) will prove a sufficient security for the future."

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I have seen with the highest concern the great anticipations of the revenue, and the heavy debts unprovided for during the late war, which have reduced you to the unhappy necessity of imposing further burthens upon my people. Under these circumstances it is my earnest wish to contribute by every means to their relief. The utmost frugality shall be observed in the disposition of the supplies which you have granted; and when the accounts of the money arising from the sale of such prizes as are vested in the crown shall be closed, it is my intention to direct that the produce shall be applied to the public service."

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The extension of the commerce of my subjects; the improvement of the advan-

tages we have obtained; and the increaſe of the public revenue, are the proper works of peace. To theſe important and neceſſary objects my attention ſhall be directed. I depend upon your conſtant care to promote in your ſeveral countries that ſpirit of concord and that obedience to law, which is eſſential to good order, and to the happineſs of my faithful ſubjects. It is your part to diſcourage every attempt of a contrary tendency; it ſhall be mine firmly to maintain the honour of my crown, and to protect the rights of my people."

On the fifteenth day of November the parliament re-aſſembling, his majeſty harangued both houſes in the following terms:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity, upon terms of honour and advantage to my kingdoms, was the firſt great object of my reign; that ſalutary meaſure has received the approbation of my parliament, and has ſince been happily compleated, and carried into execution, by the definitive treaty. It has been, and ſhall be, my endeavour to enſure the continuance of the peace, by a faithful and ſteady adherence to the conditions upon which it was con-

concluded; and I have the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that the ſeveral powers of Europe, who were engaged againſt us in the late war, have given me the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the ſame good diſpoſition. Our principal care ought now to be employed to improve the valuable acquiſitions which we have made, and to cultivate the arts of peace in ſuch a manner, as may moſt effectually contribute to extend the commerce, and to augment the happineſs of my kingdoms.

"For theſe great purpoſes I have called you together. It will ever be my earneſt wiſh and endeavour to demonſtrate to my people, by my actions, the love which I bear them; and I doubt not of receiving from them the grateful and juſt returns of duty and affection."

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I will order the proper eſtimates for the ſervice of the year to be laid before you. The heavy debts contracted in the courſe of the late war, for many of which no proviſion is yet made, call for your utmoſt attention and the ſtricteſt frugality. I muſt however earneſtly recommend to you the ſupport of my fleet, to which our paſt ſucceſſes have

been ſo much owing, and upon which the future welfare and importance of Great-Britain do moſt eſſentially depend. To eaſe my people of ſome part of thoſe burthens, I have directed, as I promiſed at the end of laſt ſeſſion of parliament, that the money, ariſing from the ſale of the prizes veſted in the crown, ſhould be applied to the public ſervice. It is my intention to reſerve, for the ſame uſe, whatever ſums ſhall be produced by the ſale of any of the lands belonging to me in the Weſt-Indies, which were ceded to us by the late treaty.

"The improvement of the public revenue, by ſuch regulations as ſhall be judged moſt expedient for that purpoſe, deſerves your ſerious conſideration. This will be the ſureſt means of reducing the national debt, and of relieving my ſubjects from thoſe burthens, which the expence of the late war have brought upon them; and will, at the ſame time, eſtabliſh the public credit upon the moſt ſolid foundation."

"My lords and gentlemen,

"As the intereſts and proſperity of my people are the ſole objects of my care, I have only to deſire, that you will purſue ſuch meaſures, as are conducive to thoſe ends,

ends, with dispatch and unanimity. Domestic union will be essentially necessary to remedy those evils which are the consequences of war, to enable us to reap the most permanent advantages from the conclusion of the peace, and to discourage that licentious spirit, which is repugnant to the true principles of liberty, and of this happy constitution. In this opinion I trust that my subjects will be confirmed by your example; and that they will be taught by your proceedings, to unite their utmost endeavours to support such measures, as may equally tend to the honour and dignity of my crown, and to their own security and happiness."

We have already observed, that the preliminaries of the peace had been readily approved by both houses of parliament, and the definitive treaty now met with the same good fortune. The address of the lords was conceived in the following terms:

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our unfeigned thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

"Permit us, Sir, to take the earliest opportunity of congratulating your majesty

on the happy addition to your royal family, by the auſpicious birth of a ſecond prince, and of expreſſing our moſt ſincere wiſhes, that the ſame divine bleſſing may be continued to your majeſty's illuſtrious houſe, on which the preſervation of our holy religion, and our rights and liberties, do, under God, ſo eſſentially depend.

"We beg leave alſo to declare our utmoſt gratitude to your majeſty, for the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity upon terms of honour to your crown, and advantage to our people. We have the firmeſt reliance on your majeſty's moſt gracious aſſurances of your endeavours to ſecure the continuance of a peace ſo neceſſary to the relief of your ſubjects, who have long laboured under the burthen of a moſt expenſive, though ſucceſsful war, in every part of the globe; and we receive, with great ſatisfaction, the communication, which your majeſty has been pleaſed to make to us, of the good diſpoſition of the ſeveral powers engaged in the late war, whoſe concurrence in your majeſty's ſalutary intentions will, we truſt, long enſure the tranquillity of Europe.

"We are deeply ſenſible of your majeſty's paternal care and attention for the improvement of conqueſts, and the extenſion of the com-

commerce of your ſubjects, in which the public welfare is ſo materially concerned; and we will not fail, on our part, to exert our warmeſt endeavours in forwarding your majeſty's great and gracious purpoſes. For we have nothing more ſincerely at heart, than that your majeſty, having by your conduct impreſſed on the minds of your faithful ſubjects a full conviction of your true affection, may receive from them the moſt ample returns of duty and attachment, which a loyal and grateful people can make.

"Convinced, as we are, that domeſtic union is eſſentially neceſſary for ſecuring the advantages derived to us from the late happy and honourable peace, we cannot ſufficiently expreſs our abhorrence of that ſeditious ſpirit which has of late manifeſted itſelf in defiance of the laws, to the ſubverſion of good order, and to the diſgrace of liberty, whoſe ſacred name it has ſo inſolently aſſumed. And we beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that, by our zeal and application in bringing all offenders of that ſort to juſtice, as well as by our proceedings in general, we will endeavour to give ſuch an example as may induce your majeſty's ſubjects to unite in diſcouraging a licentiouſneſs, which is ſo repugnant to the true

true principles of this happy conſtitution, and in promoting ſuch meaſures as may equally conduce to the honour and dignity of your majeſty's crown, and to their own happineſs and ſecurity."

The addreſs of the commons was to the following effect:

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty the moſt humble and hearty thanks of this houſe, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

"Permit us at the ſame time, to offer our warmeſt congratulations to your majeſty on the auſpicious birth of another prince, and on the happy recovery of your royal conſort, now further endeared to this country by the increaſe of thoſe pledges of our liberty and future happineſs.

"We beg leave to congratulate your majeſty on the completion of that great and ſalutary meaſure, the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity upon terms ſo honourable to your crown, and ſo advantageous to your people.

"Allow us, Sir, to aſſure your majeſty, that we feel the higheſt ſatisfaction in the declaration which you are graciouſly pleaſed to make of your reſolution faithfully and

ſteadily

ſteadily to adhere to the conditions of the peace, which your majeſty has concluded: and that we cannot but conſider the ſtrong aſſurances of the ſame good diſpoſition given by the ſeveral powers of Europe, who were lately engaged againſt us, as the natural conſequence of your majeſty's wiſdom and firmneſs, and as a further preſage that the bleſſings of peace will be uninterrupted and permanent.

"We are truly ſenſible of that paternal love to your people, of which your majeſty is pleaſed to aſſure us in ſo affecting a manner; and we will aſſiduouſly apply ourſelves to the accompliſhment of thoſe great purpoſes, for which your majeſty has called us together; the improvements of our valuable acquiſitions, the extenſion of our commerce, and the cultivating of every art of peace, which may either tend to alleviate the heavy burthens occaſioned by the war, or may otherwiſe contribute to the general welfare of theſe kingdoms.

"We beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that your faithful commons will chearfully grant to your majeſty ſuch ſupplies as ſhall be found neceſſary for the ſervice of the year; that they will be careful to maintain the navy of Great Britain upon the moſt reſpectable footing; and that they look upon

upon your majesty's earnest recommendation of this important object, as a testimony of your royal attention to the true and essential interests of this country.

"We acknowledge with the deepest sense of gratitude, your majesty's gracious and tender concern for the relief of your people, in directing, that the money arising from the sale of prizes vested in the crown, shall be applied to the public service; and for that additional mark of your royal beneficence, in signifying your intention to reserve for the same use whatever sums shall be produced by the sale of any of the lands belonging to the crown, in the islands of the West-Indies ceded by the late treaty.

"Your majesty may be assured, that we will bestow the strictest attention upon that interesting subject, which your majesty has pointed out to our serious consideration, and will diligently weigh every regulation, which may be proposed, for the improvement of the public revenue, as the most effectual method to reduce the national debt, to relieve your majesty's subjects from the burthens of the late war, and to confirm and strengthen the public credit.

"We are thoroughly convinced, by the whole tenor of your majesty's most auspicious

cious reign, that the common good and proſperity of your people, are the ſole objects of your care; and that we ſhould therefore be wanting to ourſelves, and neglectful of our own happineſs, if we did not purſue, with unanimity and diſpatch, ſuch meaſures as may beſt contribute to theſe great ends, and may moſt effectually diſcourage that ſpirit of diſorder and licentiouſneſs which is no leſs dangerous to liberty than deſtructive of government.

"Animated with theſe ſentiments, we will endeavour, by our own conduct, to ſet an example to others of duty to our ſovereign, and of love to our country, being firmly perſuaded, that under a prince adorned with thoſe virtues which diſtinguiſh your majeſty, your real intereſts and thoſe of your people are inſeparable."

The example of parliament was ſoon followed by the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, the archbiſhop, biſhops, and clergy of Canterbury, the two univerſities, the merchants and traders of London, the Proteſtant diſſenting miniſters in and about that metropolis, and by ſeveral other bodies and corporations in the kingdom. Some of theſe addreſſes we ſhall inſert for the ſatisfaction of the reader. That of the lord-

mayor

mayor and alderment was couched in the following terms:

"Your majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects, the lord-mayor* and aldermen of the city of London, deſire to be permitted to pay their humble duty to your majeſty, and to expreſs their grateful ſenſe of your majeſty's gracious and benevolent attention to the welfare of your people, in relieving them from the increaſing burthens of a long and expenſive, though glorious and ſucceſsful war.

"They enter not into a particular conſideration of the national advantages reſulting from the treaty of peace, which your majeſty has been pleaſed to conclude; theſe have been ſubmitted to a conſtitutional examination; but they beg leave thus publickly to declare to your majeſty their entire acquieſcence in a meaſure which your majeſty's councils, and the great council of the nation have ſeen reaſon to approve. And this they have thought it their duty to do at this time, when they have, with concern, obſerved a ſpirit of faction unhappily ariſing, and are apprehenſive their ſilence might be interpreted as an encouragement of practices

* The then lord-mayor, Mr. Beckford, not chuſing to attend, Sir Charles Aſgill ſupplied his place.

tices which their dutiful attachment to your majesty's person and government leads them to detest and abhor.

"They further beg leave to assure your majesty, that as magistrates, to whom the executive power of the government of the city of London is intrusted, it shall be their constant endeavour to maintain their domestic tranquillity, order, and good government, and that true and perfect liberty which has its foundation in obedience to the laws, and of which licentiousness, though it often assumes the name, is, in this country, the only enemy.

"By a conduct so conformable to your royal example, they presume to hope they shall entitle themselves to the continuance of your majesty's protection and favour."

The address of the archbishop, bishops, and clergy of Canterbury was to this effect:

"We your majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects the archbishop, bishops, and clergy, of the province of Canterbury, in convocation assembled, humbly beg leave to congratulate you on the good success with which Providence hath graciously crowned your humane and christian labours, for putting an end to the late necessary,

but expensive and bloody war, by the conclusion of a just and honourable peace.

"It adds greatly to our joy, that your majesty's influence and example have been happily instrumental to restore tranquillity through-out the rest of Europe. And our satisfaction is still further heighthened by the prospect that all our fellow-subjects, in your wide extended American dominions, will, by means of the acquisitions, which the British arms have made, and your majesty hath so prudently retained, live hereafter secure from savage incursions and alarms.

"We trust also, that a door will thus be opened to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ in its native purity, by the only allowable method, rational and benevolent persuasion, among those who have hitherto either been ignorant of it, or mixed it with dangerous errors.

"We earnestly pray God to direct and bless your majesty's counsels to the complete attainment of these salutary ends; and grant you long to see every part of the several nations under your government flourishing in the full enjoyment of all their religious and civil rights; and shewing their thankfulness for such inestimable blessings, by

by a chearful and uniform obedience to God and your majeſty.

"Whatever we can do for the promotion of the public felicity, we ſhall always diligently endeavour, animated to it in the ſtrongeſt manner, both by conſcience and inclination."

The addreſs of the univerſity of Oxford was expreſſed in theſe words:

"We your majeſty's moſt faithful and loyal ſubjects, the chancellor, maſters, and ſcholars, of your univerſity of Oxford, humbly beg leave to approach your royal preſence with our moſt ſincere and cordial congratulations on this happy occaſion. Under your majeſty's moſt auſpicious adminiſtration each year teems with new bleſſings, and each year calls upon us to preſent unto your majeſty, our juſt tribute of dutiful acknowledgments.

"Your majeſty, on your acceſſion to the throne of theſe kingdoms, found the nation involved in a neceſſary, but expenſive and deſtructive war; and your firſt care hath been to eaſe your ſubjects from this burthen, and reſtore to them the bleſſings of peace. Your majeſty's prudent and vigorous meaſures have compelled the enemy to accept of reaſonable terms of accommodation, and happily put an end to a glorious and ſucceſsful

ceſsful war, by a moſt advantageous and honourable peace.

"We have likewiſe the further ſatisfaction, through your majeſty's wiſe counſels and negotiations, to ſee this bleſſing become general; and all Chriſtendom, which had long groaned under the calamities of war, enjoying the benefits of quiet and repoſe.

"Such an event, however extenſively beneficial and univerſally intereſting, is in a more particular manner favourable to nurſeries of religion and learning: that religion, whoſe peculiar characteriſtic is peace and benevolence, thoſe arts and ſciences, which chiefly delight in peace, and always flouriſh moſt in times of public tranquillity.

"Permit us, dread ſir, on this joyful occaſion, to give the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of our inviolable attachment to your majeſty's perſon and government: and we promiſe ourſelves all happineſs and proſperity under your majeſty's mild and impartial adminiſtration, by being in peace with the neighbouring kingdoms, and at unity among ourſelves. That your majeſty may enjoy a long and happy reign, that the bleſſings of peace may attend it, and the arts of peace adorn it, is the ardent wiſh and earneſt prayer of your ever grateful and loyal univerſity."

The

The addreſs of the univerſity of Cambridge was as follows:

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the chancellor, maſters, and ſcholars, of your univerſity of Cambridge, beg leave to approach your majeſty's throne, and to expreſs the warmeſt ſentiments of our duty and gratitude to your majeſty for your tender regard to the true happineſs of your people, in concluding an expenſive, though ſucceſsful war, by a ſafe and honourable peace. An event which, we truſt, will be attended with the greateſt bleſſings and advantages to us, and our lateſt poſterity.

"We have had frequent occaſions, in the continuance of the late juſt and neceſſary war, to admire the fortitude and greatneſs of mind, with which your majeſty purſued every meaſure that could contribute either to the glory, or the ſecurity of your kingdoms. Permit us to declare our moſt affectionate ſenſe of that goodneſs of heart, which has diſpoſed your majeſty, even in the midſt of your triumphs, to put a happy period to the manifold calamities of war, and to complete your amiable character, the friend of mankind, and the father of your people.

"It is with a peculiar ſatisfaction that your univerſity of Cambridge embraces every opportunity of preſenting themſelves before your majeſty, the heir and deſcendent of princes, who ſtand enrolled with our moſt munificent patrons and beneſactors. And we ſhall always gratefully acknowledge that our invariable attachment to your majeſty's illuſtrious houſe has been diſtinguiſhed by many eminent and repeated marks of royal favour. We ſhall humbly hope, that our perſeverance in the ſame good principles and practices will always recommend us to the ſame gracious favour and protection.

"It ſhall be our particular attention, as it is our moſt bounden duty, to inſtil into thoſe, who are committed to our care, the higheſt regard for our holy religion, every ſentiment of loyalty and affection to their king, and every principle of obedience to the laws and conſtitution of their country.

"May your majeſty, who is formed to be the delight and happineſs of any people, be ever poſſeſſed of the hearts of all your ſubjects! May that purity of manners, that undiſſembled piety, of which your majeſty is ſo illuſtrious an example, effectually promote and recommend the cauſe of virtue and true religion! May it check the progreſs

greſs of all open vice and profaneneſs! And may that God, whom you ſo faithfully ſerve, long, very long, preſerve your majeſty the moſt beloved ſovereign of an united, a dutiful, and an affectionate people!"

The Proteſtant diſſenting miniſters in and about London expreſſed themſelves to this effect:

"Your majeſty's ever loyal and faithful ſubjects, the Proteſtant diſſenting miniſters in and about the cities of London and Weſtminſter, humbly beg leave to congratulate your majeſty on the reſtoration of peace to your own dominions, and to the world in general: an event truly intereſting to all who are influenced by ſentiments of humanity, and peculiarly pleaſing to the miniſters of the goſpel of peace.

"The unparalleled ſucceſs and glory, which crowned your majeſty's arms, whilſt they excited our gratitude to the Almighty, could not ſuppreſs our concern for the numberleſs calamities and diſorders inſeparable from war. As theſe are happily brought to a period, we can now indulge the delightful expectation, that the advancement of piety and virtue, of civil and religious liberty, and of thoſe arts which improve and embelliſh human life, will be the reſult

of

of public tranquillity, and the juſt praiſe of your majeſty's reign.

"The large acceſſions made to your majeſty's empire in America, not only promiſe an increaſe of commerce, with its attendants, wealth, and power, but likewiſe opens a way for diffuſing freedom and ſcience, political order and chriſtian knowledge, through thoſe extenſive regions, which are now ſunk in ſuperſtition and barbariſm, and for imparting even to the moſt uncultivated of our ſpecies, the happineſs of Britons.

GREAT SIR,

"The Proteſtant diſſenters have been ever ſtrongly attached to thoſe excellent princes your royal progenitors; having always conſidered the revolution as the glorious æra of liberty in theſe kingdoms, and the ſucceſſion in your auguſt houſe, as, under God, its firmeſt eſtabliſhment: and the goodneſs of your majeſty's heart, your high ſenſe of domeſtic virtue, and your avowed regard to religion, concur to heighten our zeal for the dignity of your crown, and the proſperity of your government. It ſhall be our conſtant care to approve our loyalty and fidelity to your majeſty, by promoting concord, and by recommending to thoſe with whom we are connected, ſuch principles,

ples, as are calculated to render them, at once, good ſubjects, and good men.

"We have only to add, our fervent ſupplications to the Moſt High, that your majeſty may reign long, the father of a free, and the delight of an happy people; and that the imperial crown of theſe realms may deſcend, in your illuſtrious line, to the lateſt generations."

The merchants and traders of London delivered themſelves in the following terms:

"We your majeſty's faithful ſubjects, the merchants and traders of the city of London, inviolably attached by every tie of duty and gratitude to your majeſty's perſon and government, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for the conſtant and effectual ſupport and protection we enjoyed during the late war; and, at the ſame time, moſt ſincerely to congratulate your majeſty on the ſucceſs of your truly paternal and humane endeavours to reſtore to your people, and to Europe in general, the bleſſings of peace.

"Through the care and attention of government, the national commerce, amidſt the tumults and dangers of the moſt extended war this country was ever engaged in, has been carried on with a degree of ſecurity and ſucceſs beyond example: this, however,

ever, did not lead us to forget the adverſe accidents to which the nature of war continually expoſed us, nor to ceaſe wiſhing for that ſtability and permanency, which peace alone could give.

"We have now the ſatisfaction to ſee a war, founded in juſtice and neceſſity, proſecuted with vigour and glory, at length concluded on terms of real and ſolid advantage, by a treaty of peace, every where marked with that moderation and equity which afford the faireſt proſpect of its continuance.

"With hearts, therefore, full of the higheſt ſenſe of your majeſty's attention to the general welfare of your ſubjects, as well as to their commercial intereſts, and animated with equal zeal for your perſon, and abhorrence of all diſreſpect to your dignity, we aſſure your majeſty, that nothing ſhall ever be wanting, that may, in any degree, contribute on our parts to render your majeſty's reign eaſy and happy over a loyal and grateful people."

Signed by 922 merchants and traders.

The Quakers addreſſed his majeſty in the following expreſſions:

"Being met in this our annual aſſembly, from various parts of Great Britain and Ire-

Ireland, for the worſhip of Almighty God, and the promotion of piety and virtue, we embrace the opportunity, which the reſtoration of peace affords us, to teſtify our affection to thy royal perſon, and family; and our dutiful ſubmiſſion to thy government.

"To a people, profeſſing that the uſe of arms is to them unlawful; a people, who reverence the glorious goſpel declaration of good will to men, and fervently wiſh for the univerſal eſtabliſhment of peace, its return muſt be highly acceptable.

"To ſtop the effuſion of blood, to eaſe the burthens of the people, and terminate the calamities that affected ſo large a part of the globe, we are perſuaded were thy motives to effect the preſent pacification: motives ſo juſt in themſelves, ſo full of benevolence and humanity, demand our united and cordial approbation.

"May the Sovereign of the univerſe, who created all nations of one blood, diſpoſe the minds of princes, by ſuch examples, to learn other means of reconciling their jarring intereſts and contentions, than by the ruin of countries, and the deſtruction of mankind.

"The proofs we have received of thy royal condeſcenſion and indulgence, the laſting impreſſions of gratitude to the memory

mory of the kings of thy illustrious house, fill our hearts at this time with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty. Strongly impressed by such sentiments, we retire to our respective habitations, with full purpose to cultivate, as much as in us lies, a spirit of harmony and concord, so essentially necessary to the dignity of the crown, and the happiness of the subject.

"May God, the source of every blessing, the fountain of every excellence, ever graciously direct thy steps, and preserve thee long to reign over thy extensive dominions, with that wisdom, moderation, and equity, which effectually secure to princes the chearful obedience of their people, and transmit their names with deserved honour to posterity."

The address of the corporation of Bath was to this purport:

"We the mayor, aldermen, and common council of the ancient and loyal city of Bath, do beg leave to congratulate, and most humbly to thank your majesty for an adequate and advantageous peace, which you have graciously procured for your people, after a long and very expensive, though necessary and glorious war, which your majesty, upon your accession to the throne, found your kingdoms engaged in.

"And

"And we take the liberty to assure your majesty, that upon all occasions we shall be ready to give the most evident proofs of the truest zeal and duty, which the most dutiful subjects can testify to the most gracious and best of princes."

The clamour, which was raised on the resignation of Mr. Pitt, and which became more violent on that of the duke of N. had not, as yet, in any degree subsided. During the continuance of the session, the party in opposition endeavoured, by every possible means, to harrass, since it was evident, that for the present at least, they could not easily overturn the administration. The opposition, which was made in both houses to any approbation of the peace, had been much more warm than effectual, tho' it was a topic, upon which, of all others, it was expected, that they would chuse to exert their most vigorous efforts. They, however, appeared extremely weak upon it, and many persons were then of opinion, that no serious design was entertained by any body of people, of branding, with disgrace, a system, upon which it was absolutely necessary that the nation should repose itself for a long time; to which, therefore, it was proper the people should reconcile their minds, and which had a general

merit sufficient to dispose them to acquiesce in the conditions of it. The spirit of the party was not, whatever their intentions might have been, exhausted in this attempt. They lay in wait to attack the administration in the most critical time, and to wound them in the most essential part, the supplies. Several circumstances concurred to favour their design. The business of impositions is, in itself, unpopular; minds discontented and fertile can very readily and very plausibly forebode almost any ill consequence from an untried tax; and there is scarce a public burthen, which may not, with some appearance, be traced, in speculation, to the ruin of some branch of manufacture or commerce. Besides, though taxes were full as necessary at the conclusion, as during the continuance, of the war, that necessity was not, to every person, so palpably evident; nor were they, by any means, so agreeable, as when victory and plunder seemed to pay, in glory and profit, for every article of national expence. The advantages of the peace, though far more certain and solid, were neither so immediate nor so striking.

In these dispositions the people were ready to fall into very ill humours, upon any plan of supply which could be proposed.

The

The adminiſtration was very ſenſible of this; and, therefore, reſolved to lay as few new taxes as was conſiſtent with anſwering the exigencies of the public. They were, perhaps, the more inclined to this reſerve in opening new reſources, in order to ſhew that the nation was not very abundant in them; and thereby to give an additional proof of the neceſſity of the peace, and of the merit of thoſe, who had made ſo good an one in ſuch exhauſted circumſtances. Perhaps, too, in purſuing this method, there was a deſign of throwing a tacit reflection upon the expenſive manner, in which the war had been carried on. After ſuch a war, and oppreſſed by ſo heavy a debt, a miniſtry could not wiſh to ground its reputation upon a more ſolid baſis than that of a real national œconomy.

In purſuance of this plan the ſupplies were to be raiſed: firſt, by taking two millions out of the ſinking fund; ſecondly, by ſtriking one million eight hundred thouſand pounds in exchequer bills; thirdly, by borrowing two millions eight hundred thouſand pounds on annuities; and laſtly, by two lotteries, for three and fifty thouſand pounds. To pay the intereſt on theſe loans, amounting, in the whole, to ſeven millions three hundred thouſand pounds, an additional duty of eight pounds a tun was laid upon

all wines of the growth of France, and four pounds a tun upon all other wines.

So far as this duty went, the ſcheme was perfectly unexceptionable; but another duty was added, concerning which very ſober men might have had their doubts, and which gave to all the diſcontented the faireſt opportunity, which could be furniſhed, of raiſing a popular clamour, and inflaming the whole nation. A duty of four ſhilling a hogſhead was laid upon cyder, to be paid by the maker, to be collected by the officers, and to be ſubjected (with ſome qualifications) to all the laws of exciſe*.

The

* As this act has been the occaſion of much clamour, and the ſubject of much diſpute, we ſhall preſent it to the reader at length

Act for granting to his majeſty certain duties upon all cyder and perry.

From and after July 5, 1763, an additional duty ſhall be laid on all cyder and perry, viz. on all cyder and perry imported 40s. per ton; and upon all cyder and perry made within Great-Britain, 4s. per hhd. to be paid by the maker.

The duties upon cyder and perry made in England, to be under the receipt and management of the commiſſioners and officers of exciſe there, and thoſe in Scotland under like officers there. The commiſſioners ſhall appoint a ſufficient number of officers,

and

The plan of ſupply was violently attacked by the party in oppoſition, and as ſtrene-

 ouſly

and the duties ſhall be paid into the Exchequer apart from all other monies.

The makers of cyder and perry (not being compounders) ſhall enter their names, and the mills, preſſes, or other utenſils, ſtore-houſes, and other places to be made uſe of, at the next office of exciſe, ten days before they begin to work, under the penalty of 25l. for uſing any unentered place.

The officers of exciſe, upon requeſt made, ſhall have free acceſs in the day-time, to all places entered or made uſe of for making or keeping perry or cyder, and ſhall gauge, and report the contents to the commiſſioners, leaving a copy for the maker. The duties ſhall be paid according thereto, within ſix weeks from making ſuch charge; and the uſual allowances ſhall be made in reſpect thereof.

Perſons, intending to ſell or remove any cyder or perry in their poſſeſſion, made before July 5, 1763, ſhall ſend a ſigned particular thereof to the next office of exciſe, ten days before the ſaid fifth of July, that the officer may attend, and take an account thereof, and grant certificates occaſionally for the removal of a like quantity, without charging the duty, &c.

No cyder and perry exceeding ſix gallons ſhall be removed, &c. without a certificate, on forfeiture thereof, with the package. Officers of exciſe may ſeize the ſame. A time ſhall be limited, for which the certificates ſhall be in force.

Perſons making cyder or perry to be conſumed in their own private families only, ſhall be admitted to compound for the duties, they giving in a liſt of the num-

ouſly defended by the miniſtry. The former alledged, in direct contradiction to the latter,

number in family, and paying at the rate of 5s. *per* head *per ann.* This compoſition ſhall be renewed annually, and the money paid down at the ſame time. The houſes, &c. of perſons, who ſhall thus compound, ſhall be exempted from ſurvey or ſearch. But upon increaſe of the family, a new liſt ſhall be given in, and 5d. *per* month *per* head ſhall be paid for the additional number, during the ſubſiſting unexpired term of the year. Compounders neglecting to deliver in ſuch liſts, and pay their compoſition money, ſhall be charged with the duty, and become liable to a ſurvey. Perſons delivering falſe or defective liſts, &c. ſhall forfeit 20l.

Children under eight years of age ſhall not be inſerted in the liſts. Compounders may ſell, diſpoſe of or remove any cyder or perry more than ſufficient for their own uſe, giving two days notice to the proper officer, who ſhall attend, and take an account thereof, and charge the duties, and report the ſame to the exciſe office, leaving a copy with the compounder. Such cyder or perry ſhall not be afterwards removed without a certificate. Compounders being guilty of any fraud, in ſelling, exchanging, or delivering out cyder or perry, ſhall forfeit 20l.

No compounder ſhall let out or lend his mill, or other utenſils for making cyder and perry, without giving three days previous notice to the proper officer to attend, and charge the duties; unleſs the cyder or perry be the property of another compounder, or of ſome perſon not liable to the duty; and no part of it

ſhall

latter, that the nation was far from being exhauſted: that there were reſources for carrying

ſhall be removed without a certificate, under a penalty of 10l.

Perſons uſing their own mills, &c. or procuring cyder or perry to be made at the mill, &c. of any other perſon ſhall be deemed makers.

Compounders for malt ſhall not be liable to compound, or pay duties, for cyder or perry to be made and conſumed in their own families, unleſs they ſhall ſell or otherwiſe diſpoſe of any part thereof; in which caſe they ſhall comply with the directions given with reſpect to compounders in like circumſtances.

Occupiers of tenements not rated above 40s, *per ann.* to the land tax, and not making more than four hogſheads of cyder and perry in the whole in a year, ſhall be exempted from duties, or compounding.

Theſe new duties on cyder and perry ſhall be drawn back on exportation; and upon diſtillation thereof into low wines and ſpirits; and upon the ſame being made into vinegar, and charged with the duties as ſuch.

The penalty of oppoſing an officer in the execution of his office, or of reſcuing or ſtaving any cyder or perry after any ſeizure thereof, ſhall be 50l. for every ſuch offence. Informations for offences againſt this act, by the makers of cyder or perry, ſhall be laid within three months after being committed: and notice thereof ſhall be given them.

Perſons aggrieved by the judgment of any juſtice of the peace, touching the duties or penalties, may appeal to the quarter ſeſſions; and the determination of the ſaid court ſhall be final.

Ap-

rying on the war at leaſt two years longer, and much more towards clearing off incum-

Appellants ſhall give notice to the other parties, and the court ſhall award coſts as they ſee fit, to be levied by diſtraint.

For want of ſufficient time intervening, an appeal may be made to the ſecond quarter ſeſſions.

A re-hearing ſhall be had of the merits of the caſe upon appeals; and defects of form in the original proceedings may be rectified by the court.

All powers, rules, methods, penalties, and clauſes in act 12 Car. II. or in any other act relating to the revenue of exciſe, where not altered by this act, ſhall be put into execution with reſpect to duties on cyder and perry.

The penalties and forfeitures relating thereto, ſhall be recovered or mitigated, as by the laws of exciſe, or in the courts at Weſtminſter, or in the court of Exchequer in Scotland, and ſhall be employed, half to the uſe of the king, and half to him that ſhall ſue.

The duty on cyder and perry brought from Jerſey, Guernſey, Sark or Alderney, ſhall be paid by the importer before landing, on penalty of being ſeized and forfeited.

The monies ariſing by the reſpective duties granted by this act, ſhall be entered in proper books in the auditor's office ſeparately from each other, and from all other monies; and ſhall be a fund for the payment of the annuities chargeable on the principal ſum of 5,000,000 l. borrowed on the credit of this act.

This

cumbrances on the peace: that, as individuals abound in wealth, and as the public is

This act was afterwards explained and amended by another act to this purport:

Whereas by an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, a duty of four ſhillings per hogſhead was granted upon all cyder and perry made in Great Britain, over and above all other duties: and it was thereby directed, that the ſaid duty ſhould be paid within ſix weeks, from the time of making the charge by the officers of exciſe; and all makers of cyder and perry were thereby authoriſed to compound for this duty, in reſpect of the cyder and perry to be conſumed in their own private families. And whereas it would be a great relief to the perſons ſubject to the ſaid duty, or to the compounders in lieu thereof, many of whom are induſtrious perſons, with large families, if the time for payment of the ſaid duty were enlarged, and the compoſition of five ſhillings, authoriſed to be made by the ſaid act, were lowered.

From and after the 5th day of July 1764, the time limited by the former act for payment of the duties, ſhall be extended to ſix months; after the expiration of which they ſhall be recovered and levied, as hereby directed.

In lieu of the former compoſition, officers of exciſe are authoriſed to compound with private families, at the rate of 2 s. per head, per ann. for each perſon of eight years old and upwards, in the liſts delivered in to them, which compoſition ſhall be renewed annually; and in caſe of an increaſe in the family during the year, an additional liſt ſhall be given in, and

2 d.

is loaded with ſo immenſe a debt, it was in ſuch circumſtances the dictate of the wiſeſt

2 d. per month paid for every perſon added during the ſubſiſting unexpired term of ſuch year. The compoſitions ſhall be applied as the duties. Other parts of the former act relating to compoſitions, ſhall continue in force.

Makers of cyder at other preſſes than their own, not being compounders, ſhall enter their names at the next office of exciſe, ten days previous to ſuch making; together with the mills, and owners thereof, and the cellars or ſtorehouſes for keeping ſuch cyder, under a penalty for their uſing any unentered mill, ſtorehouſe, &c. of 25 l. Officers of exciſe ſhall have free acceſs to the ſaid mills, ſtorehouſes, &c. in the day time, to gauge the cyder, &c. and to make and report the charge, leaving a copy with the maker; who ſhall pay the duty according to ſuch charge.

Proprietors of cyder mills, &c. ſo lent out, ſhall not be obliged to give notice thereof.

Where the compounder intends to ſell or diſpoſe of cyder, &c. immediately from the mill, the officer ſhall deliver to him blank certificates and counterparts for the purpoſe, to be filled up occaſionally; which ſhall protect the removal of ſuch cyder. The counter-part ſhall be filled up and ſigned, at the ſame time with the certificates, and ſhall be returned to the officer, and a receipt ſhall be given him for the certificates. The certificates and counter-parts not uſed, ſhall be produced when called for. The quantities ſold, and certified for, ſhall be verified on oath. Returns of the quantities diſpoſed of, as aforeſaid,

wiſeſt and moſt enlarged policy to add as much as poſſible, by bold and liberal grants, to the income of the nation; the fund of payment would then be enlarged, and œconomy will have ſomething upon which to operate: that, in any other method, frugality was mean and ſordid in the practice, and would certainly prove trifling in the effect: that it might ſtarve many uſeful parts of public ſervice, but muſt ever be found

ſaid, ſhall be made by the officers of exciſe to the commiſſioners of exciſe, and the duties charged from the counter-parts; a copy of which returns ſhall be left with the maker, who ſhall pay the duty accordingly within ſix months from thence. A maker of cyder or perry not complying with theſe regulations, or being guilty of any fraud, ſhall forfeit 25 l. Certificates for the removal of cyder from the mill, ſhall be in force, but between 1 Sept. and 13 Dec. yearly. Blank certificates and counter-parts ſhall be delivered up within ten days after, on penalty of 25 l.

The penalty of obſtructing an officer in his duty, ſhall be 50 l. If any officer of exciſe ſhall refuſe or wilfully neglect to leave a true copy of his report in writing, or to grant a certificate for the removal of any cyder, or perry, upon reaſonable requeſt made for that purpoſe, or if any maker of cyder or perry, authorized to compound, ſhall offer to make ſuch compoſition, and if any ſuch officer ſhall refuſe or wilfully neglect to accept ſuch compoſition, he ſhall, for each refuſal or neglect, forfeit and pay the ſum of forty ſhillings.

found a frivolous and fallacious reſource towards the diſcharge of the public debt: that nothing could be more abſurd than the enormous profit which was allowed to the ſubſcribers, exceeding that of former occaſions, without any alteration in the ſtate of public credit: that two lotteries were, for the firſt time, eſtabliſhed in one year, without any urgent neceſſity; and the incitement, which muſt thence ariſe to the pernicious ſpirit of gaming, which cannot be too much diſcountenanced in every ſtate governed by wiſdom, and a ſober regard to the morals of the people, was but too apparent: that as to the money that was to be taken from the ſinking fund, they looked upon it as a kind of ſacrilege; they thought, that ſcarce any neceſſity could, in our ſituation, be pleaded in favour of a perverſion of this fund from its original purpoſes to the current ſervice: that the appearance of tenderneſs for the people in this ſcheme was altogether deceitful, when they were exonerated for a time, only to be burthened more heavily hereafter; and that their preſent eaſe muſt infallibly cauſe their future weakneſs: that with regard to the cyder exciſe, nothing could be more pernicious or unpopular: that no body could forget the clamour, which a ſcheme of a more

more extended exciſe raiſed in the year 1733: that one of the ableſt miniſters for internal policy, whom England ever produced, was on the point of ſinking under it: that, though time had made many particular converts, and thoſe too of no mean rank, to this plan, or at leaſt to the principles of it, the general odium had not yet been extinguiſhed, and it remained one of the moſt inflammatory topics, which could be held out to the public: that, beſides all this, the preſent tax was, with regard to its object, partial and oppreſſive; with regard to the means of collecting it, dangerous and unconſtitutional: that it laid the whole burthen of expences incurred in the general defence of the kingdom, and in the protection of the national commerce, on a few particular counties, which, in every other article of the public charge, contributed, at leaſt, their full ſhare: that the diſproportion of this tax to the natural original value of the commodity, was equally evident and abſurd: that it was oppreſſive to both farmers and landholders; to thoſe, in a diminution of their rents, operating more ſeverely than the land tax; to theſe, becauſe, if they compounded, it was, in effect, an heavy capitation; if they did not, it was a ſubjection to new, unknown, and perplexed

laws, and to tribunals of commiſſioners appointed by the crown, and removeable at pleaſure, and therefore arbitrary in their nature, and inconſiſtent with the principles of liberty, which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed this nation from arbitrary governments: that this laſt particular was big with conſequences of the moſt alarming nature: that when new orders of men, meaning country farmers, by ſituation and profeſſion diſtinct from traders, were rendered objects of the exciſe laws, the precedent was formidable not to commerce only, but to more important objects; and had a fatal tendency, which they trembled to think on: that the ſmallneſs of the ſum to be raiſed indicated, that the ſupplying the wants of government could not be the only motive to ſo extraordinary a meaſure: that things were now come to that melancholy paſs, that, beſides what might be dreaded for the future, the houſes of all orders of people, of peers, gentlemen, freeholders, and farmers, were made liable to be entered and ſearched at pleaſure; and this appeared to be nothing leſs, to uſe the words of one of the firſt gracious acts of liberty paſſed by our great deliverer king William, repealing the hearth money, than "a badge of ſlavery."

The

The friends of the miniſtry, on the other hand aſſerted, that to aim at increaſing the national income by any further taxes, than the moſt extreme neceſſity demanded, was a wild project: that every tax implied ſome diſcouragement to trade, becauſe in its conſequences it augmented more or leſs in foreign markets the price of our manufactures, which muſt always, in time of peace, depend for their ſale principally on their cheapneſs; and that this muſt be the caſe, let the peace be made upon any terms whatever: that every tax alſo, in order to be effectual, naturally implied ſome reſtraint upon liberty: that there could not be a more ſtriking proof of the ſolidity of theſe principles, than the oppoſition then made to the duty on cyder and perry, a moſt moderate and moſt equitable impoſition; and that, of all men, it ill became thoſe, who argued ſo ſtrenuouſly for continuing and enlarging the charge of the nation, to quarrel with one of the leaſt diſtreſſing reſources which could be found for the public: that nothing could be more ridiculous than the charge, that this tax was unequal, and lay heavy upon ſome particular countries; inaſmuch as it did not even bring them on a par with the charge on thoſe counties, where the people drink beer: that, in theſe coun-

ties, all private, as well as public consumption, is charged in the malt tax: that this charge on cyder is in itself not so great; and that it has exemptions in favour of the poor, which are not indulged in the malt tax; so that the cyder counties have rather reason to be thankful for their long immunity, than querulous, that at last they are obliged to contribute rather less than their proportion towards the support of the national burthens: that the objection of the disproportion of the tax to the original value of the commodity was still more frivolous: that nothing rendered a commodity more proper for taxation, than its original value being so low, that it might be sold cheap, even after the imposition: that this was the case of tobacco, of malt spirits, and even of beer: that the excessive cheapness of cyder called for a tax to restrain the excessive use of it; and that there was a little appearance of inconsistency in the conduct of those gentlemen, who shewed so tender a regard to the morals of the people, and to their danger from gaming, even when regulated and authorised by government, and yet could afford no attention to the vice of drunkenness, equally pernicious in itself, and much more prevalent amongst the lower people: that, with respect

ſpect to the mode of levying this tax, by making it a branch of the exciſe, if thoſe gentlemen, who diſapproved of it, would point out another method equally effectual for collecting the duty, and leſs grievous to the ſubject, the miniſtry would readily adopt it; but that their antagoniſts were entirely ſilent upon this head, who were ſo loud upon every other: that, if it were once admitted, that cyder for private conſumption was a fit object for a tax, there could be no doubt, that the exciſe was the only ſure way of collecting it: that the exciſe had clearly the advantage of every other mode of collection, in point of cheapneſs, expedition, accuracy, and a power of preventing frauds, either in the officer or the dealer: that theſe advantages, notwithſtanding the unpopularity of the name, had induced the legiſlature to give it originally a very extenſive juriſdiction, the bounds of which they found the neceſſity of enlarging every day; and, if it was a badge of ſlavery, it was a badge, which had been long worn by no inconſiderable part of the nation; by all thoſe concerned in manufacturing or vending malt, beer, ſpirits, tea, tobacco, ſalt, ſoap, candles, leather, and a multitude of other articles: that theſe perſons, if they were told by the

head, would be found perhaps to compoſe a body not inferior, perhaps greatly exceeding in number, all the makers of cyder, who were now laid under this duty and theſe laws in a few counties: that if every gentleman in the nation was not ſubjected to the exciſe laws, it was becauſe he did not chuſe to make his own malt; ſome chuſed to do ſo, and were ſo ſubject; and it is the extenſive principle of the law, and not the accidental burthen on, or immunity of, individuals, in the execution, that forms an objection of any force or meaning to this or to any other revenue law: that, in ſtating this point to the public, a very unfair advantage had been taken of the looſe ſenſe of the words *Extenſion of the exciſe laws:* If theſe pamphleteers meant ſimply, that the exciſe was extended with regard to its object, the fact was true; but if they meant, as they almoſt conſtantly inſinuated, that the powers of the exciſe were alſo extended, nothing could be more falſe; inſtead of being extended, thoſe powers were, in many material circumſtances, with regard to this new object, very much contracted; and the makers of cyder were far more favoured, than any other claſs of people under the juriſdiction of the exciſe: that, with regard to the charge made on the terms, by which above

above three millions of the public money were raiſed by lottery, every one muſt be ſenſible, that the more frequently public credit was employed, the weaker it naturally grew, and the higher the rate of the loan muſt riſe: that the ſum borrowed, indeed, was not ſo large as that which was neceſſary to be raiſed in the preceding year: yet, ſtill, it was very large, and greatly exceeded what had ever been raiſed by the nation at one time before the late expenſive war: that, though the return of peace might be ſuppoſed, by its natural operation, to put new life into public credit, that operation had been prevented by the riſe of domeſtic faction, which was ever as great an enemy to credit as foreign war; and therefore, that ſome of the gentlemen in oppoſition were, at leaſt, as much accountable for the advanced terms of the loan, as thoſe, who, from neceſſity, propoſed ſuch terms; and it ought not to be forgotten how great a connection had been kept up between the principal dealers in money, and ſome perſons, who, being now diſcontented themſelves, communicated to others alſo, a part of their groundleſs diſſatisfaction, and conſequently rendered the raiſing of the public money more difficult: that the application of the ſinking fund to the ſervice of the year

year might be fully juſtified, not only by the frequency of the example, but by the reaſon of the thing: that it was much better to poſtpone a poſſible payment of ſome part of the public debt, than to increaſe the capital amount of it, and, in the mean time, burthen, with new taxes, manufactures and commerce already ſinking under the old ones.

Theſe arguments, if they had been ſtill more powerful, would have gone but a little way towards quieting the clamours which had been excited, and of which the dangers apprehended from the manner of raiſing the ſupplies had been the pretence only, and not the cauſe. As to the merits of the queſtion on either ſide, we do not preſume to paſs any judgment on them whatſoever, propoſing only, according to our uſual method, to ſtate fairly and impartially ſome part of what had been, or obviouſly might might have been urged on theſe controverted topics.

The ſcheme for the exciſe on cyder and perry did not paſs the lower houſe, till after a violent ſtruggle by the party in oppoſition, and a vehement remonſtrance againſt it, preſented by the city of London to all the different branches of legiſlature. In the upper houſe too, it was ſtrenuouſly conteſted

ed and finally clogged with two vigorous proteſts, the firſt entered on its being committed, the laſt on its being paſſed. The firſt proteſt was conceived in the following terms, and was ſigned by the earl of Oxford, and the lords Foley and Willoughby de Broke.

1ſt. Becauſe we conceive there would have accrued leſs detriment to the public by rejecting this bill, than by agreeing to it; ſince it would have been eaſy, had the bill been rejected, to have provided the neceſſary ſupplies by ſome other ways and means, leſs dangerous to the public liberty than the extenſion of the laws of exciſe, over new orders of men, who, by meer ignorance and inadvertency, may be ſubjected to the ſevereſt penalties for things done in the common, ordinary, and neceſſary management of their farms.

2dly. Becauſe blending diſtinct matters in the ſame money-bill, lays this houſe under the utmoſt difficulties; ſince the alteration made by this houſe, to any parts of ſuch bill, may be an unavoidable obſtruction to other parts of it, leſs liable to objection, and requiring greater expedition and diſpatch: and we conceive, that to tack unto ſuch a bill, matters, which for many reaſons ought to be kept ſeparate and diſtinct, is deſtructive of all freedom of debate

bate and all due deliberation, unparliamentary, highly derogatory to the privilege of the peers, and may be of dangerous conſequence to the prerogative of the crown.

3dly. Becauſe we apprehend, that ſuch parts of the ſaid bill as extend the laws of exciſe over the makers of cyder and perry, are not only injurious to the liberties of the ſubject, but particularly offenſive to the dignity and privilege of the peers; ſince their houſes may be viſited and ſearched, and they themſelves incur the penalties of this bill, to be levied upon them by juſtices of the peace and commiſſioners of the exciſe: we are therefore doubly called upon to diſſent from the paſſing of this bill, by a due and ju[illegible] ſenſe of the dignity and privilege of the peerage, and by a tender regard to the liberties and properties of the people, of which this houſe hath been always eſteemed the hereditary and perpetual guardians.

4thly. Becauſe when we conſider the great number of families, over whom and their poſterities the laws of exciſe are extended by this bill, the incapacity of farmers to comply with it, not only in reſpect to their ignorance, but to the nature of their buſineſs; the heavy penalties impoſed for

for involuntary offences; the ſummary and arbitrary method of trying and determining thoſe offences, and of levying thoſe penalties; the great and expenſive increaſe of officers to be employed in collecting an inconſiderable and very uncertain revenue; and the influence of thoſe officers, which, in critical times, may be employed to the worſt of purpoſes; we cannot but be moſt ſeriouſly alarmed at a ſtretch of power ſo wide, ſo unneceſſary, and ſo unconſtitutional.

The laſt proteſt was to this effect, and was ſigned by the duke of Bolton, earl Temple, and the lord Forteſcue.

1ſt. Becauſe by this bill our fellow ſubjects, who, from the growth of their own orchards, make cyder and perry, are ſubjected to the moſt grievous mode of exciſe, whereby private houſes of peers, gentlemen, freeholders, and farmers, are made liable to be entered and ſearched at pleaſure. We deem this to be not only an intolerable oppreſſion, affecting private property, and deſtructive of the peace and quiet of private families; but, to uſe the words of one of the firſt gracious acts of liberty, paſſed by our gracious deliverer, king William the third, repealing the hearth money, "a badge of ſlavery."

2dly.

2dly. Becauſe we think we owe it to our countrymen, who have ſo chearfully ſubmitted to the great load of taxes, which have been found neceſſary in ſupport of a juſt, proſperous, and glorious war; by every means in our power to mark our high diſapprobation of the terms upon which three millions five hundred thouſand pounds have been borrowed on this loan, without any material alteration ſince in the ſtate of the public credit; an enormous profit of above three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds is already made by ſuch perſons as have been favoured with ſhares in this private ſubſcription. We apprehend, that, in time of peace, an open ſubſcription had not only been the faireſt, but the cheapeſt method of borrowing any ſums, which the neceſſities of the public might call for. It appears to us, by the votes of the houſe of commons, that, on the 8th of this inſtant March, this bargain was firſt conſented to by them; whereby a redeemable annuity of four per cent. is given to certain perſons, who offered to advance this loan. No leſs than two lotteries in one year, are now, for the firſt time, without any urgent neceſſity, eſtabliſhed in the days of peace; to the no ſmall excitement of the pernicious ſpirit of gaming,

gaming, which cannot be too much diſcountenanced by every ſtate, governed by wiſdom, and a ſober regard to the morals of the people. Two lottery tickets, bearing four per cent. intereſt, from the 5th day of April, 1763, are allowed at ten pounds each, to every ſubſcriber of eighty pounds: whereas, intereſt at three per cent. and that to commence only in a future year, hath been given upon former lotteries, during the higheſt exigencies of the public; at a time, too, when there was in contemplation, a loſs of no leſs than thirty per cent. upon every blank, and every prize; and when no leſs a ſum than twelve millions was borrowed, for the ſervice of the government. On the eighth of this inſtant aforeſaid, and for ſeveral days preceding, the general price of ſtock was very much upon an equality, with that which they bear at preſent; nor hath any conſiderable variation happened in the great three per cents. and four per cent. annuity funds ſince that time. The redeemable annuity, excluſive of the profit ſo certainly to be made upon the lottery tickets, ſells at a premium of two and a half per cent. and the advantage made upon the whole loan, including that on the lottery tickets, is from ten to eleven per cent. clear

profit; whereby an exorbitant gain ariſes to individuals at the expence of the public.

For theſe cogent and unrefuted reaſons we have thought it incumbent upon us to withſtand, at the outſet, ſuch alarming proceedings; ſo repugnant to the principles of œconomy, and to the ſpirit of liberty; and by this ſolemn teſtimony to declare, that we are determined upon all occaſions to endeavour to protect, as far as in us lies, the meaneſt of our fellow ſubjects from oppreſſion of every kind.

Whilſt theſe affairs were depending in parliament, every method was taken to continue and encreaſe the ferment without doors. The fury of the populace was let looſe, and every thing was full of tumult and confuſion. Virulent libels, audacious beyond the example of former licentiouſneſs, were circulated through the nation, in which nothing was ſacred, and no character was ſpared; and it muſt be admitted, that, whoever firſt gave the ill example, no party was free from that particular ſpecies of intemperance, of which they accuſed the others. But ſtill the miniſtry braved the ſtorm; and, except on the ſingle queſtion of exciſe, their ſtrength in parliament ſeemed rather to be augmented than impaired. In the midſt of this contention, and while all perſons

perſons anxiouſly waited the event, which, however, nobody thought could be very ſpeedily determined, to the aſtoniſhment of all, but of thoſe few who had been in the ſecret, the E. of B. ſuddenly reſigned the place of firſt lord of the treaſury, and retired from buſineſs.

As uſual in matters ſo important and unexpected, this action was narrowly canvaſſed, and variouſly criticiſed, as the tempers, and the views of parties inclined them; or as men of cooler tempers ſpeculated upon the general propriety and policy of the meaſure. Some thought L. B. extremely blameable for abandoning his friends, his maſter, and his own fortune, juſt at the time, when a little perſeverance might have entirely defeated the deſigns of his enemies, and eſtabliſhed his power on the moſt ſolid foundation.

They alledged, that his quitting employment at this critical juncture muſt greatly raiſe the ſpirits of all who oppoſed, and in the ſame proportion deaden the hopes of all thoſe who ſupported the adminiſtration: that men could have no ſecurity to engage in a party, when neither the moſt decided parliamentary ſuperiority, nor the moſt aſſured protection of the court, was able to hold them together: that it was impoſſible

to keep a party long embodied without an able and a determined leader, upon whom they could depend as a director in their actions, an arbitrator in their differences, and a support in their difficulties: that they had hitherto maintained to very little purpose so strenuous a political warfare, if their commander quitted the field the moment they became assured of the victory; and that such conduct reflected upon the wisdom of their whole system, both as it was conceived, and as it was prosecuted.

For what end, they asked, had they contended? For this, most certainly, that the constitutional dignity of the crown should be restored; that the K. and kingdom should be no longer governed, or rather insulted, by a cabal; and that his majesty should, as the law directs, chuse and retain his own ministers, unless some legal disqualification prevented their appointment, or some well proved delinquency furnished a reason to remove them from his service. But could this end be ever attained, if the first gust of popular fury was sufficient to overturn the whole fabric of their designs? And must not such a behaviour inspire the utmost confidence into their adversaries, when they saw, that they could drive a a minister from the side of the sovereign who chose

choſe him, without being at the trouble even of a falſe accuſation? They added, that as to their own conduct, the whole muſt appear, if this be the end of it, wild, raſh, and violent; almoſt every part of it being evidently accommodated to a permanent ſyſtem, and not to a temporary arrangement.

Others reaſoned in a very different manner. They ſaid, that the miniſter in queſtion was, perhaps, the man in the world the leaſt to be influenced by popular opinion, or to be intimidated with popular fury: that the part, which he acted, in the great and neceſſary, but dangerous undertaking of making the peace, ſufficiently demonſtrated his firmneſs in this particular: that, when he had done that important ſervice, with all its ſolid honour and popular odium, to his country and his maſter, his end was fully accompliſhed: that it was reſolved, that the factious party ſhould not have even the poor pretence of objecting his private ambition as the cauſe of diſturbances, which had been raiſed ſolely by their own; and that his reſignation would ſhew them in their proper colours: that, with regard to the friends of the government, they little knew the ſpirit of the ſervice they were engaged in, if they feared, that they could ever be

given up to enemies, merely created by their faithful adherence to that service: In a word, that that nobleman had entered into business upon the new plan, when all things were in doubt and distraction, and the disposition of parliament very uncertain: that he was not driven from it, but left it; and left it with a powerful majority in favour of government: that if things should fail afterwards, he was not to be blamed, who left them upon a much stronger basis than he found them; and that, for the present, in seeking his own repose, he did not break in upon that of the public; on the contrary it was perhaps the only method, which could open the eyes of the people, and in due time lead them to a knowledge of their real interest.

Whatever might have been the motives to this resignation, nothing is more certain, than that the popular uneasiness was no way diminished by it, because the ends of the popular leaders were by no means answered. Notwithstanding the sanguine expectations of the party in opposition, none of them were admitted to a place in the ministry. Ld B. had resigned, but the plan of administration was not changed. The person who held the office of first lord of the treasury, and the two secretaries of state, were

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to be underſtood as compoſing the miniſtry, and to them the applications for buſineſs or favour were to be directed.

No ſort of reaſonable objection could, indeed, be perſonally made to thoſe who were placed at the helm. Mr. G. who ſucceeded L. B. in the treaſury, was a man of integrity, of underſtanding, and of experience, and had for many years laboured with diligence and ſucceſs to make himſelf maſter of almoſt every department of public buſineſs. Lord H. with all the ornamental qualities of a courtier, was univerſally conſidered as a very able man in office, and had held many high employments with a very high degree of reputation. Lord E---r---t, the other ſecretary of ſtate, a man of an illuſtrious family, and extenſive property, had not indeed been long in office, but ſtood in every reſpect unimpeached in his conduct. The other departments were filled in the ſame unexceptionable manner. National prejudices, ſaid the friends of the miniſtry, have no place in theſe appointments; and if the oppoſition quarrel with adminiſtration, it is evident that they quarrel with it, becauſe it is founded upon conſtitutional principles, and is not the work of an oligarchical cabal.

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All this was undoubtedly true, but gave no kind of ſatisfaction. Whence, ſaid the oppoſite party, is derived the power of theſe new miniſters? Not from their overbearing weight of property in the kingdom; not from their great parliamentary intereſt, or their ſuperior parliamentary talents. In all theſe points, they are much exceeded by thoſe who have been ſo unworthily turned out from employment and favour. Is it from their having made themſelves ſo particularly agreeable at court, that, rather than be obliged to part with them, any inconvenience will be endured? No body could be ſuppoſed to be ſo ignorant of the world, as ever to entertain ſuch a childiſh opinion.

What then was the end of their appointment? This clearly, and nothing elſe; that having no ſolid ground of power in themſelves, they might act as the paſſive inſtruments of that miniſter, who, from a regard to his own perſonal ſafety and quiet, without relinquiſhing his ambitious projects, has thought proper rather to conceal his operations than to retire from action. To oppoſe them, therefore, is to oppoſe him. We have alſo, ſaid they, additional motives for our oppoſition from the fraud that is endeavoured to be put upon us; and it concerns

cerns the credit of our underſtanding, as well as that of our ſpirit, not to ſuffer this ſcheme of clandeſtine adminiſtration.

They were probably, much miſtaken in the opinion they had formed of the principles which produced the late change, and the preſent miniſtry. But whether or not the notion of the ſubſerviency of the miniſtry to a concealed intereſt was credited by all the party, as they pretended, the effect was the ſame; and it could not be otherwiſe. The two parties, quarrelling about their common object, power, had been, by their ſeveral ſituations, obliged to adopt very different ſyſtems of politics.

The friends of lord B. and of the miniſtry, which ſucceeded, were for preſerving to the crown the full exerciſe of a right, of which none diſputed the validity, that of appointing its own ſervants. Thoſe of the oppoſition readily admitted this power in the crown; but they maintained, at the ſame time, that, in the exerciſe of this public duty the S. ſhould be directed by public motives, and not by private liking and friendſhip. They ſaid that great talents, great and eminent ſervices to the nation, confidence amongſt the nobility, and influence amongſt the landed and mercantile intereſts, were the directions, which the crown

crown ought to obſerve in nominating officers of ſtate: that the obſervation of this rule would, and, they were of opinion, nothing elſe could, in any degree, counterballance that immenſe power, which the crown has acquired by the gift of ſuch an infinite number of profitable places: that nothing but the very popular uſe of the prerogative can be ſufficient to reconcile the nation to the extent of it; and they will be highly diſſatisfied, whenever they ſee their affairs in the hands of any ſet of men, though appointed according to the ſtricteſt letter of the law, in whom they have not an entire confidence: that when they ſee adminiſtration ſettled with an attention to this popular confidence, and with a deference to public opinion, they have a ſecurity in which they can acquieſce, that no attempts will be made againſt the conſtitution: that miniſters too, when they find that they are recommended to the royal favour, and, as it were, preſented to their places, by the eſteem of the people, will be ſtudious to acquire, and anxious to preſerve, it: That theſe are the principles of whigs, and upon them the government has been conducted honourably for the crown, and advantageouſly for the people, ever ſince the revolution; and things

things can never be at repoſe, until they are replaced again upon the ſame baſis.

What has been now ſaid, we think ſufficient to afford the reader a very tolerable general idea of the principles, real or pretended, of the ſeveral parties, which have for ſome time unhappily divided the nation, and of thoſe topics, which have been agitated with ſo much heat and violence ſince the concluſion of the peace.

The death of the earl of Egremont, which happened in the month of Auguſt produced no change in the miniſtry. On the contrary, its ſtrength ſeemed to be conſiderably increaſed by the acquiſition of the D. of B. one of the moſt powerful men in England, from his property and the firmneſs of his character, who accepted the place of preſident of the council, which had been ſome time kept vacant. Lord Sandwich took the ſeals as one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. And lord E. who was removed in the late changes from the poſt-office to the admiralty, was an enthuſiaſt in patriotiſm; and was univerſally acknowledged to be one of the beſt informed of the whole body of the nobility.

We have already obſerved, that the public was never more peſtered than at this period with ſcurrilous and bitter invectives, from

from which no innocence of life, or moderation of conduct, could be a ſufficient protection. Among thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this dirty and dangerous, but popular work, was one Mr. Wilkes, member of parliament for Ayleſbury, who had long conducted, and principally compoſed a periodical paper called the North Briton. This gentleman, after having, for a conſiderable time, attacked, with the utmoſt virulence, and the moſt perfect impunity, the character and conduct of the miniſtry, ventured, at length, to aim the ſhafts of his ſatire at the throne itſelf, and, in his animadverſions on his majeſty's ſpeech to the parliament, made uſe of ſuch inſolent and audacious language, that the ſecretaries of ſtate thought themſelves bound, in honour as well as juſtice, to take in cuſtody all that were concerned in printing or publiſhing the North Briton. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſixth day of April, the following order was iſſued by lord Halifax, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, and directed to Nathan Carrington, John Money, James Watſon, and Robert Blackmore, four of his majeſty's meſſengers in ordinary. Theſe are in his majeſty's name to authorize and require you (taking a conſtable to your aſſiſtance) to make ſtrict and diligent ſearch

for

for the authors, printers and publiſhers of a ſeditious and treaſonable paper, entitled the *North Briton*, N° XLV. *Saturday*, *April* 23, 1763. printed for *G. Kearſly*, in *Ludgate-Street*, *London*; and them or any of them, having found, to apprehend and ſeize together with their papers, and to bring them in ſafe cuſtody before me, to be examined concerning the premiſes, and further dealt with according to law. And, in the due execution thereof, all mayors, ſheriffs, juſtices of the peace, conſtables, and all other his majeſty's officers, civil and military, and loving ſubjects, whom it may concern, are to be aiding and aſſiſting to you, as there ſhall be occaſion; and for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant.

The publiſher of the paper being accordingly apprehended, and having declared readily that Mr. Wilkes was the author, the officers proceeded to ſeize that gentleman. When they entered his houſe, and produced the warrant, he excepted to the generality of it, and, his name not being mentioned in it, threatened the firſt, who ſhould offer violence to his perſon, in his own houſe, at that unſeaſonable hour of the night, upon any pretended verbal order, which they might, or might not, have received for that purpoſe; upon which the meſſengers thought proper to

retire, and to defer the execution of their warrant till next morning, when they took him into cuſtody without oppoſition, but not without ſome force on their ſide, as was alledged.

On the intimation of Mr. Wilkes's being in cuſtody, a motion was made in the court of Common Pleas, then ſitting in Weſtminſter-hall, for a *habeas corpus*, which was granted, though, by reaſon of the prothonotary's office not being open, ſuch *habeas corpus* could not be ſued out till four o'clock in the afternoon. The under ſecretary of ſtate and the ſolicitor of the treaſury attending in Mr. Wilkes's houſe, aſked ſeveral of his friends, who were preſent, if they choſe to inſpect the officers in ſealing up the papers; but all of them declined the invitation.

Mr. Wilkes having undergone a ſhort examination before the ſecretary of ſtate, was immediately committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower.

His ſolicitor and counſel were no ſooner informed of ſuch commitment, than they repaired to the Tower in order to conſult with him, about the legal methods to be purſued for his enlargement, but were denied admittance. Major Ransford, the officer of the Tower, who had him in cuſtody,

tody, acquainted them, that he had received orders from the ſecretaries of ſtate not to admit any perſon whatſoever to ſpeak with or ſee Mr. Wilkes; adding, that he had juſt before refuſed the right honourable the earl of Temple ſuch admittance. On the firſt day of May, the ſame gentlemen, between the hours of twelve and one, called again upon major Ransford for the ſame purpoſe, but were again denied admittance, as were, ſoon after, many noblemen and gentlemen of the firſt diſtinction, and even Mr. Wilkes's own brother. After ſuch denial, Mr. Wilkes's ſolicitor demanded of the major a copy of the warrant, under which Mr. Wilkes was committed to the Tower, which was readily granted by the major, and was as follows:

Charles Earl of Egremont, and George Dunk Earl of Halifax, Lords of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, and principal Secretaries of State.

Theſe are, in his majeſty's name, to authorize and require you to receive into your cuſtody the body of John Wilkes, Eſq; herewith ſent you, for being the author and publiſher of a moſt infamous and ſeditious libel, entitled the North Briton, N° XLV.

tending to inflame the minds and alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty, and to excite them to traiterous inſurrections againſt the government. And to keep him ſafe and cloſe until he ſhall be delivered by due courſe of law, and for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant. Given at St. James's, the 30th of April 1763, in the third year of his majeſty's reign.

ſigned EGREMONT. L. S.
DUNK HALIFAX. L. S.

The ſolicitor of the treaſury, who is generally the manager of government proſecutions, interceded with the major for leave of admittance to Mr. Wilkes's lawyers; but the major continued inflexible in his refuſal. By this time the court of Common Pleas had ordered a return to their writ of *habeas corpus*, which having been ſerved upon the meſſengers only, their return was, that Mr. Wilkes was not then in their cuſtody. The court not judging that return to be ſufficient, would not ſuffer it to be filed; and another writ of *habeas corpus* was granted, directed to the conſtable of the Tower of London and his officers; in conſequence of which, Mr. Wilkes being, on the third day of May brought into the court of

of Common Pleas in Weſtminſter-hall, delivered himſelf in the following terms:

My Lords,

"I feel myſelf happy to be at laſt brought before a court, and before judges, whoſe characteriſtic is the love of liberty. I have many humble thanks to return for the immediate order you were pleaſed to iſſue, to give me an opportunity of laying my grievances before you. They are of a kind hitherto unparalleled in this free country, and I truſt the conſequences will teach miniſters of Scottiſh and arbitrary principles, that the liberty of an Engliſh ſubject is not to be ſported away with impunity in this cruel and deſpotic manner.

I am accuſed of being the author of the North Briton, No. 45. I ſhall only remark upon that paper, that it takes all load of accuſation from the ſacred name of a prince, whoſe family I love and honour, as the glorious defenders of the cauſe of liberty, and whoſe perſonal qualities are ſo amiable, great, and reſpectable, that he is deſervedly the idol of his people. It is the peculiar faſhion and crime of theſe times, and of thoſe who hold high miniſterial offices in government, to throw every charge from

themſelves upon majeſty: the author of this paper, whoever he may be, has, upon conſtitutional principles, done directly the reverſe, and is therefore in me, the ſuppoſed author, meant to be perſecuted accordingly; the particular cruelties of my treatment, worſe than if I had been a Scots rebel, this court will hear, and I dare ſay, from your juſtice, in due time, redreſs.

I may, perhaps, ſtill have the means left me to ſhew that I have been ſuperior to every temptation of corruption. They may, indeed, have flattered themſelves, that when they found corruption could not prevail, perſecution might intimidate. I will ſhew myſelf ſuperior to both. My papers have been ſeized, perhaps with a hope the better to deprive me of that proof of their meanneſs and corrupt prodigality, which it may poſſibly, in a proper place, be yet in my power to give."

The caſe was then learnedly argued by eminent lawyers on both ſides, and when they had finiſhed, the court after making a polite excuſe to Mr. Wilkes for the delay, took time to conſider the caſe, and to give their opinion; therefore remanded him priſoner to the tower till the fixth day of May, at which time he was ordered to be brought up, that the affair might be finally de-

determined: but directions were given, that, in the mean time, both his friends and lawyers ſhould have free acceſs to him.

The day appointed being accordingly arrived, and Mr. Wilkes brought back to the court in form, he addreſſed himſelf to the judges in the following ſpeech:

My Lords,

"Far be it from me to regret that I have paſſed ſo many more days in captivity, as it will have afforded you an opportunity of doing, upon mature reflection and repeated examination, the more ſignal juſtice to my country. The liberty of all peers and gentlemen, and what touches me more ſenſibly, that of all the middling inferior claſs of people, who ſtand moſt in need of protection, is in my caſe this day to be finally decided upon; a queſtion of ſuch importance as to determine at once, whether Engliſh liberty be a reality or a ſhadow. Your own free-born hearts will feel, with indignation and compaſſion, all that load of oppreſſion, under which I have ſo long laboured. Cloſe impriſonment, the effect of premeditated malice, all acceſs for more than two days denied to me, my houſe ranſacked and plundered

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ed, my moſt private and ſecret concerns divulged, every vile and malignant inſinuation, even of high treaſon itſelf, no leſs induſtriouſly, than falſely circulated by my cruel and implacable enemies, together with all the various inſolence of office, form but a part of my unexampled ill treatment. Such inhuman principles of *ſtar chamber* tyranny will, I truſt, by this court, upon this ſolemn occaſion, be finally extirpated; and henceforth every innocent man, however poor and unſupported, may ſleep in peace and ſecurity in his own houſe, unviolated by *king's meſſengers*, and the *arbitrary mandates* of an overbearing ſecretary of ſtate.

I will no longer delay your juſtice. The nation is impatient to hear, nor can be ſafe or happy till that is obtained. If the ſame perſecution is after all to carry me before another court, I hope I ſhall find that the genuine ſpirit of *Magna Charta*, that glorious inheritance, that diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of Engliſhmen, is as religiouſly revered *there*, as I know it is *here*, by the great perſonages before whom I have now the happineſs to ſtand; and (as in the ever-memorable caſe of the impriſoned biſhops) that an independent jury of free-born Engliſhmen will perſiſt to determine my fate, as

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in conſcience bound, upon conſtitutional principles, by a verdict of *guilty* or *not guilty*. I aſk no more at the hands of my countrymen."

When Mr. Wilkes had made an end, lord chief juſtice Pratt ſtood up, and delivered his opinion on the three following heads, which were chiefly inſiſted on by council: Firſt, The legality of Mr. Wilkes's commitment. Secondly, The neceſſity for a ſpecification of thoſe particular paſſages in the 45th number of the North Briton, which had been deemed a libel. And, Thirdly, Mr. Wilkes's privilege as a member of parliament.

In regard to the firſt, his lordſhip remarked, that he would conſider a ſecretary of ſtate's warrant, through the whole affair, as nothing ſuperior to the warrant of a common juſtice of the peace: and that no magiſtrate had, in reality, a right *ex officio*, to apprehend any perſon, without ſtating the particular crime, of which he was accuſed; but, at the ſame time, he obſerved there were many precedents, where a nice combination of circumſtances gave ſo ſtrong a ſuſpicion of facts, that though the magiſtrate could not be juſtified *ex officio*, he was, nevertheleſs, ſupported in the commitment, even without receiving any particular information

formation for the foundation of his charge. The word *charge*, his lordſhip took notice, was in general much miſunderſtood, and did not mean the *accuſation* brought againſt any perſon taken up, but his *commitment* by the magiſtrate, before whom he might be brought. Upon the whole of this point, according to the cuſtomary rule which had been for a ſeries of years obſerved by the ſages of the law, even in the reign of Charles the ſecond, when this matter was ſo frequently conteſted, his lordſhip was of opinion, that Mr. Wilkes's commitment was not illegal.

In relation to the next article, which required a ſpecification of the particular paſſages in the North Briton, which were deemed a libel, his lordſhip took notice, that the inſertion of theſe paſſages, ſo far as they related to the point in queſtion, was not at all neceſſary; for even ſuppoſing the whole of the 45th North Britain had been inſerted in the body of the warrant, yet it by no means came under his lordſhip's cognizance at that time; for the matter in conſideration then was, not the nature of the offence, but the legality of the commitment; the nature of the offence not reſting in the boſom of a judge without the aſſiſtance of a jury, and not being a proper ſubject of enquiry,

quiry, till regularly brought on to be tried in the cuſtomary way of proceeding.

With reſpect to the third and laſt point, how far Mr. Wilkes had a right to plead his privilege as a member of parliament, his lordſhip remarked, that there were but three caſes which could poſſibly affect the privilege of a member of parliament, and theſe were *treaſon*, *felony*, and the *peace*. The peace, as it is written in the inſtitutes of the law, his lordſhip explained to ſignify a *breach of the peace*. He remarked, that when the ſeven biſhops were ſent to the Tower, the plea which was uſed when the ſpiritual lords contended for their privilege, was, that they had *endeavoured* to *diſturb* the peace. This, at that arbitrary time, was judged ſufficient to forfeit their privilege; but his lordſhip took notice, that, out of the four judges then upon the bench, there was but one honeſt man, Powel, and he declined giving any opinion. His lordſhip then obſerved, that the privilege of parliament ſhould be held ſacred and inviolable, and as there were but three particular caſes in which that privilege was forfeited, it only remained to examine how far Mr. Wilkes's was endangered. Mr. Wilkes ſtood accuſed of writing a libel; a libel in the ſenſe of the law was a *high miſ-*

demeanor,

demeanor, but did not come within the description of *treason*, *felony*, or *breach of the peace*; at most it had but a tendency to *disturb* the *peace*, and consequently could not be sufficient to destroy the privilege of a member of parliament.

Thus was this point of privilege determined, and Mr. Wilkes immediately discharged. He had not, however, quitted the court, when a gentleman of eminence in the law stood up, and told the lord chief justice that he had just received a note from the attorney and solicitor-general, to intreat his lordship not to give Mr. Wilkes leave to depart till their coming, which would be in an instant, as they had something to offer against his plea of privilege. The motion was, however, rejected; upon which Mr. Wilkes stood up and said:

My Lords,

"Great as my joy must naturally be at the decision which this court, with a true spirit of liberty, has been pleased to make concerning the unwarrantable seizure of my person, and all the other consequential grievances, allow me to assure you, that I feel it far less sensibly on my own account, than I do for the public. The sufferings of an individual are a trifling object, when com-

compared with the whole, and I ſhould bluſh to feel for myſelf in compariſon with conſiderations of a nature ſo tranſcendently ſuperior.

I will not trouble you with my poor thanks. — Thanks are due to you from the whole Engliſh nation, and from all the ſubjects of the Engliſh crown. They will be paid you together with every teſtimony of zeal and affection to the learned ſerjeant *, who has ſo ably and conſtitutionally pleaded my cauſe, and in mine (with pleaſure I ſay it) the cauſe of liberty. Every teſtimony of my gratitude is juſtly due to you, and I take my leave of this court with a veneration and reſpect, which no time can obliterate, nor can the moſt grateful heart ſufficiently expreſs."

It is to be obſerved, however, that Mr. Wilkes was not diſcharged in conſequence of his birthright as an Engliſhman, which could not protect him from a commitment in the caſe of a libel, but merely on account of his privilege as a member of parliament, which, in the opinion of the chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, afforded him ſuch a protection.

* Serjeant Glynn.

When he had ended his ſpeech, the audience expreſſed their ſatisfaction by an univerſal ſhout, which was often repeated. Mr. Wilkes ſtaid ſome little time in a room adjoining to the court, in expectation that the crowd would diſperſe; but finding it to no purpoſe, he walked out of the back door of the Common Pleas, and was received by a prodigious multitude of people, who attended him to his houſe in Great George-Street, Weſtminſter, where being entered, he went into his dining room fronting the ſtreet, and throwing open his windows, paid his compliments to the populace.

On the day, which immediately ſucceeded his diſcharge, he wrote the following letter to the two ſecretaries of ſtate.

"On my return here from Weſtminſter-hall, where I have been diſcharged from my commitment to the Tower, under your l----s warrant, I find that my houſe has been robbed, and am informed that the ſtolen ſtoods are in the poſſeſſion of one or both of your l---ps. I therefore inſiſt that you do forthwith return them to

Your humble ſervant, J. WILKES.

The ſeizure of papers, in the caſe of a libel, had been always cuſtomary; but as Mr. Wilkes was ſuppoſed by many, and declared

clared by a lord chief juſtice to have been illegally apprehended, the ſecretaries of ſtate thought proper to return him the following anſwer.

"In anſwer to your letter of yeſterday, in which you took upon you to make uſe of the indecent and ſcurrilous expreſſions of your having found your houſe had been *robb'd*, and that the *ſtolen goods* are in our poſſeſſion; we acquaint you, that your papers were ſeized in conſequence of the heavy charge brought againſt you, for being the author of an infamous and ſeditious libel, tending to inflame the minds, and alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty, and excite them to traiterous inſurrections againſt the government; for which libel, notwithſtanding your diſcharge from your commitment to the Tower, his majeſty has ordered you to be proſecuted by his attorney-general.

We are at a loſs to gueſs what you mean by *ſtolen goods*; but ſuch of your papers, as do not lead to a proof of your guilt, ſhall be reſtored to you: ſuch as are neceſſary for that purpoſe, it was our duty to deliver over to thoſe, whoſe office it is to collect the evidence, and manage the proſecution againſt you."

In consequence of this answer, Mr. Wilkes wrote another letter to the secretaries to this effect:

"My Lords, Little did I expect, when I was requiring from your lordships, what every Englishman has a right to, his property taken from him, and said to be in your lordships possession, that I should have received, in answer, from persons in your high station, the expressions of *indecent* and *scurrilous* applied to my legal demand. The respect I bear to his majesty, whose servants, it seems, you still are, though you stand legally convicted of having in me violated, in the highest and most offensive manner, the liberties of all the commons of England, prevents my returning you an answer in the same *Billingsgate* language. If I considered you only in your private capacities, I should treat you both according to your deserts; but where is the wonder that men, who have attacked the sacred liberty of the subject, and have issued an illegal warrant to seize his property, should proceed to such *libellous* expressions? You say, *that such of my papers shall be restored to me as do not lead to a proof of my guilt.* I owe this to your apprehension of an action, not to your love of justice; and in that light, if I can believe your lordships assurances, *the whole* will be return-

returned to me. I fear neither your proſecution nor your perſecution, and I will aſſert the ſecurity of my own houſe, the liberty of my perſon, and every right of the people, not ſo much for my own ſake, as for the ſake of every one of my *Engliſh* fellow ſubjects.

I am, my lords, &c. J WILKES.

Soon after this, Mr. Wilkes having cauſed a printing preſs to be ſet up, under his own direction, at his houſe in great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, adverti ſed the proceedings of the adminiſtration, with all the original papers, at the price of a guinea; and the North-Briton again made its appearance.

But this ſhaft ſeemed to make little impreſſion on thoſe it was aimed at; for an information was filed againſt him in the court of King's Bench, at his majeſty's ſuit, as author of the aforeſaid North Briton, No. XLV. And, as uſual in ſuch caſes, on the meeting of parliament, a meſſage was ſent to acquaint the lower houſe with the informations his majeſty had received, that John Wilkes, Eſq; a member of that houſe, was the author of a moſt ſeditious and dangerous libel; and with the meaſures that had been taken, upon that ſubject, and the

examinations and proofs of the libel were likewise laid before the house; and the North Briton. No. XLV. was adjudged "a false and seditious libel, containing expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards his majesty, the grossest aspersions upon both houses of parliament, and the most audacious defiance of the authority of the whole legislature, and most manifestly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws of the realm, and to excite them to traiterous insurrections against his majesty's government;" and an order was made for burning it by the hands of the common hangman.

On the same day Mr. Wilkes complained to the commons of breach of privilege, by the imprisonment of his person, the plundering of his house, the seizing of his papers, and the serving him with a subpœna, upon an information in the court of King's Bench.

Meanwhile Mr. Samuel Martin, member of parliament for Camelford, and late secretary of the treasury, having been grosly affronted in the North-Briton, and presuming, by what had passed, and other informations received, that Mr. Wilkes was the author of that abuse, took an opportunity

nity of demanding ſatisfaction; on which a duel enſued, and Mr. Wilkes received a dangerous wound in the belly with a piſtol-bullet. This occaſioned various ſpeculations, and men of moderate principles were willing to hope, that the diviſions, by which the nation in general was agitated, would immediately ſubſide on his death, which they looked upon as certain, and that all parties and diſputes would ceaſe, within doors and without, when that event happened. However, his indiſpoſition made no other alteration in the courſe of proceedings, than to diſable him, if it had been ſo determined, to anſwer to a complaint, exhibited againſt him in the upper houſe, for affixing the name of a member of that houſe to a moſt infamous, wicked and blaſphemous book, intitled 'An Eſſay on Woman'; which book was publickly produced, to the eternal diſgrace of every perſon concerned in writing and printing it. As to publiſhing this extraordinary performance, it did not appear that there was any intention to expoſe it to ſale. But about a dozen copies of it were printed for the uſe, it was ſaid, of a ſelect club, to which Mr. Wilkes had the *honour* to belong; and this, too, with ſo much ſecrecy, that it was by mere chance ſome ſcraps of it got out of Mr. Wilkes's houſe, and

and with the greateſt difficulty a compleat copy of it was procured.

The lords had no ſooner made this diſcovery than they proceeded againſt the author for a breach of privilege, while he was indicted in the courts below for blaſphemy.

In the mean time his majeſty's meſſage continued to be conſidered by the commons, and the important reſolution determined, that the privilege of parliament does not extend to the caſe of writing and publiſhing ſeditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obſtruct the ordinary courſe of the laws in the ſpeedy and effectual proſecution of ſo heinous and dangerous an offence. On this occaſion the oppoſition made a more bold and vigorous ſtand than they had done on any of the former. They ſaid, that the propoſition itſelf was made without any ſufficient reaſon, and that the doctrine by which it was endeavoured to be ſupported, was new, dangerous, and unwarrantable, viz. "that "the perſonal privilege of both houſes of "parliament has never held, and ought "never to hold, in the caſe of any criminal "proſecution whatſoever;" by which all the records of parliament, all hiſtory, all the authorities of the graveſt and ſobereſt judges, are entirely reſcended; and the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, with

with regard to the independency of parliament, torn up and buried under its moſt eſtabliſhed rights: that the very queſtion itſelf, from the letter and ſpirit of it, contradicts this aſſertion; for whilſt it narrows privilege in criminal matters, it eſtabliſhes the principle: that, by the reaſon of the thing, by many authorities in law, by the late dermination of the court of common pleas, and by two plain reſolutions of the houſe of peers, (ſo far as the queſtion concerned their particular privilege) the privilege of parliament does extend to all caſes whatſoever, except treaſon, felony, and thoſe offences, in which ſureties of the peace may be demanded: that if privilege will not hold throughout, in the caſe of a libel, it is becauſe it is one of thoſe offences; but were was ſureties of the peace demanded in the caſe of a libel? libels are breaches of the peace only by inference and by conſtruction, and not actually and in their own nature: that they are not included in any definition given of a breach of the peace in any writer of approved authority; nor is the caſe of a libel, by any ſuch writer, enumerated amongſt the breaches of the peace: that, on the contrary, it is always deſcribed as an act *tending to excite, provoke, or produce* breaches of the peace,

and

and not as that offence itſelf; and though a ſecretary of ſtate may be pleaſed to add the inflaming epithets of treaſonable, traiterous, or ſeditious, to a particular paper, yet no words are ſtrong enough to alter the nature of things: that the method of relaxing the rule of privilege, caſe by caſe, would be attended with the greateſt inconveniences, by rendering the rule itſelf precarious and uncertain; in conſequence of which the judges would neither know how to decide with certainty, nor the ſubject to proceed with ſafety in this perilous buſineſs: that as to the ſuppoſed inconvenience that would reſult from this preſervation of privilege in the caſe now before them, it would equally hold in all other conſtructive breaches of the peace; and that this argument, therefore, proved too much: that the beſt anſwer that could be returned, becauſe it removed all pretence of grievances was this, that the two houſes, upon complaint made, had the power, which they would exert in favour of juſtice, to deliver up the offender to proſecution; for it was a diſhonourable and an undeſerved imputation upon them, to ſuppoſe, even in argument, that they would nouriſh an impious criminal in their boſoms,

againſt

againſt the call of offended juſtice, and the demand of their country.

To theſe arguments the friends of the miniſtry replied, that a libel was an offence of a moſt dangerous nature, as it was followed with conſequences not only injurious to the peace of individuals, but pregnant, in many caſes, with danger to the ſafety, and, perhaps, to the being of the commonwealth: that, therefore, a libel, which, in ſome caſes, might probably be conſidered as an affair of no great magnitude, might alſo, according to its object, be a crime of a much higher order, not only than many of thoſe ſlight offences, for which ſureties of the peace are demanded, but even than ſeveral ſpecies of felony (all of which are allowed to be out of privilege) and bordering on treaſon: that the diſtinction between actual and conſtructive breaches of the peace was trifling and ſophiſtical; the queſtion was concerning the nature and weight of the offence, and not of the name by which it is called: that it would, in ſuch a caſe, be ridiculous to allow a ſeditious libeller advantages, which are denied to an ordinary breaker of the peace; as ſedition is a crime of ſo much greater guilt and importance, than a menacing geſture, or even an actual aſſault: that the privilege

of

of parliament is a privilege of a civil nature, instituted to preserve the member from being distracted in his attention to the business of the nation by litigations concerning his private property, but by no means to prove a protection for crimes: that if this distinction of breaches of the peace were to hold, members of parliament might not only libel public and private persons with impunity, but might, with the same impunity, commit many other misdemeanors and offences of the grossest nature, and the most destructive of morality and order; because these, as well as libels, are breaches of the peace, but by construction, and in their consequences; and if privilege were of this nature, the freedom of the members would be the slavery of the subject, and the danger of the state: that with regard to the assertion, "that no inconvenience could arise from the preservation of this privilege, because, on application to that house of parliament, of which the delinquent was a member, he could certainly be given up to justice;" this remedy might come too late; for, as the offender could not be arrested, and held to bail, he might easily escape by the length of time necessary to be taken in that mode of process, and by the public

public nature of the complaint: that, beſides, this argument, if at all admitted, would prove too much; the ſame reaſoning might hold as well in treaſon, felony, and actual breaches of the peace: that there was no doubt but either houſe of parliament would, on complaint, deliver up the member charged with ſuch offences; yet it was allowed that the privilege neither did or ought to cover them; and no one criminal matter ſeems more within the reach of privilege than another: that it was the argument, in favour of criminal privilege, that proved too much: that the aſſertion that this argument againſt it did ſo too, was not well grounded; for a good deal remained to be proved; thoſe who are for declaring the law of privilege not to extend to libels, do not mean to ſuppoſe all thoſe other heinous offences of the ſame nature upon which their declaration is ſilent, to be, therefore, within privilege; they deny it to exiſt in the caſe before them, that is all their preſent buſineſs; but they do neither thereby affirm, or imply it, in any other: that privilege of parliament, being defined ſolely by the diſcretion of either houſe for itſelf, was a matter of the moſt delicate nature; and was, therefore, to be uſed in the utmoſt moderation: that if it ſhould be ſo

exercised as to become incompatible with the public peace or order, or even, perhaps, with the safety and quiet of individuals, the people might come to think, that they lived under a constitution, injudiciously, or even absurdly framed, in which the personal liberty of the representatives of a free people might become inconsistent with their own: that the house, instead of inlarging its immunities beyond their original intention and spirit, instead of claiming an invidious, and no very honourable, privilege, ought to stand forward in giving a noble example of its moderation and its regard to justice: and that, by agreeing to the resolution, it would give this practical lesson, and, at the same time, this comfortable security to the people, that no situation was a sanctuary for those, who presumed to violate the law in any of its parts.

On some such reasons, the commons, though not without a strenuous opposition, agreed to the resolution; and in a conference this resolution was communicated to the other house. They also concurred in it. The resistance in this house was still more considerable. A protest against it was signed by seventeen lords.

When the sentence, passed on the North Briton came to be executed at the Royal Exchange,

change, a great mob aſſembled there, who not only pelted the executioner, the conſtables, and the inferior officers, with filth and dirt, but inſulted the chief officers preſent in the groſſeſt manner; the fore glaſs of the chariot of Mr. Harley, one of the ſheriffs and a member of parliament for the city of London, was broken by a billet thrown at his perſon, which was taken from the fire that was kindled to conſume the North-Briton. Mr. Harley being ſlightly wounded, and obſerving the ſpirit of licentiouſneſs that prevailed among the multitude, haſtened to the manſion houſe to appriſe the lord mayor of the danger. The hangman thinking it his duty to follow the ſheriff, made his retreat too as ſoon after as he could; and the conſtables, moſt of their ſtaves being broken by the furious reſiſtance they had made, mixed among the crowd, and marched off without further oppoſition. However, one of the rioters was taken, and the North Briton was partly conſumed by means of a lighted link on which it was placed by the zeal of the proper officers. The ſcraps of it reſcued from the flames by the violence of the aſſailants, were, it is ſaid, carried off in triumph, and in the evening diſplayed at Temple Bar, where a bonfire was made, and other marks

of triumph exhibited amidſt the acclamations of a vaſt concourſe of people.

The houſe of commons having taken cognizance of this riot, thanked the ſheriffs of London for their ſpirited behaviour on this occaſion, and addreſſed his majeſty that the offenders might be brought to juſtice. In conſequence of this addreſs, a warrant was ſent from the ſecretary of ſtate's office to the lord mayor, directing diligent ſearch to be made after the rioters; but it does not appear that any of them were diſcovered in conſequence of this warrant.

The city of London did not ſeem to conſider the affront thus offered to their officers in ſo heinous a light, as the houſe of commons did that offered to their order; for when, ſome days after, at a court of common council, a motion was made, "That the thanks of this court be given to the honourable Thomas Harley and Richard Blunt, Eſq; ſheriffs of this city, for their ſpirited conduct in executing the order of both houſes of parliament, and vindicating the honour and authority of the magiſtracy of this city, in the late dangerous riot in Cornhill on Saturday laſt; and that Mr. William Huſſey, the city's ſolicitor, do proſecute John Franklin, now a priſoner in Newgate, for the inſolent aſſault committed by

by him upon the ſaid ſheriffs in the execution of their duty;" it paſſed in the negative.

Mr. Wilkes, not content with the complaint, which he had made to the houſe of commons, of a breach of their privilege in his perſon, commenced an action in the court of Common Pleas againſt Robert Wood, Eſq; the under ſecretary of ſtate, for ſeizing his papers; and, on the 6th of December, this cauſe was tried before lord chief juſtice Pratt, and a ſpecial jury at the defendant's deſire, when, after a hearing of near 15 hours, a verdict was given for Mr. Wilkes with 1000l. damages; and full coſts of ſuit.

It is ſaid the following words cloſed the charge to the jury on this important occaſion;

"This warrant is unconſtitutional, illegal, and abſolutely void: it is a general warrant, directed to four meſſengers, to take up any perſons, without naming or deſcribing them with any certainty, and to bring them, together with their papers. If it be good, a ſecretary of ſtate can delegate and depute any one of the meſſengers, or any even from the loweſt of the people, to take examinations, to commit or releaſe, and, in fine, to do every act, which the

higheſt judicial officers the law knows can do or order. There is no authority in our law books, that mention theſe kinds of warrants, but in expreſs terms condemn them

Upon the matureſt conſideration I am bold to ſay, that this warrant is illegal; but I am far from wiſhing a matter of this conſequence ſhould reſt ſolely on my opinion; I am only one of twelve, whoſe opinions I am deſirous ſhould be taken in this matter, and I am very willing to allow myſelf the meaneſt of the twelve. There is alſo a ſtill higher court, before which this matter may be canvaſſed, and whoſe determination is final; and here I cannot help obſerving the happineſs of our conſtitution, in admitting theſe appeals, in conſequence of which material points are determined on the moſt mature conſideration, and with the greateſt ſolemnity. To this admirable delay of the law (for in this caſe the law's delay may be ſtiled admirable) I believe it is chiefly owing that we poſſeſs the beſt digeſted and moſt excellent body of laws which any nation on the face of the globe, whether ancient or modern, can boaſt of. If theſe higher juriſdictions ſhould declare my opinion erroneous, I ſubmit as will become me, and kiſs the rod; but I muſt ſay, I ſhall al-

always conſider it as a rod of iron for the chaſtiſement of the people of Great-Britain."

A little before this, the printers, who had been taken up in conſequence of the general warrant, upon various complaints, ſought redreſs at law, and obtained (ſuch was the temper, which, by being diffuſed among the people, was thought to have influenced the juries) damages greatly beyond their real ſufferings, and, poſſibly, beyond their moſt ſanguine expectations. During the courſe of theſe proceedings, ſeveral other incidents happened, that ſomewhat engaged the attention of the public. In a few days after Mr. Wilkes's diſcharge from the tower, his majeſty ordered the earl of Egremont to ſignify to earl Temple, who was lord lieutenant of the county of Buckingham, his pleaſure, that that gentleman ſhould be diſmiſſed from being colonel of the Buckinghamſhire militia; and this command was intimated to Mr. Wilkes with apparent reluctancy by his lordſhip, who was himſelf ſoon after removed from the lieutenancy of the ſame county, and his place beſtowed upon lord Deſpencer, late Sir Francis Daſhwood.

The ſame day on which Mr. Wilkes obtained the verdict in his favour againſt the under ſecretary of ſtate, a man knocked at his

his door, deſiring to ſpeak with him on particular buſineſs; but it appearing by his dialect, that he was a Scotchman, and being beſides an entire ſtranger, he was refuſed admittance; on which he went away to a coffee houſe, near Parliament-ſtreet, where a perſon made an affidavit that he overheard him declare, that himſelf and ten more men were determined to cut Mr. Wilkes off, let the event be what it would, and next morning gave information of it by letter to Mr. Wilkes, deſiring him to be on his guard. Accordingly, in a ſhort time, the perſon ſworn againſt, as is ſuppoſed, bringing a letter to Mr. Wilkes's houſe, ſigned Alexander Dun, the purport of which was to beg an interview with him on an affair of the moſt intereſting nature, he was deſired to call again at one o'clock, which he did accordingly; and ſeven o'clock being then appointed, as he was going out at the parlour door, into Mr. Wilkes's bed-chamber, two gentlemen, who had placed themſelves behind it, ſeized him, each by an arm, and flung him on his back. On ſearching him a new penknife was found in his pocket, which he pretended he had purchaſed about nine months before; on being farther queſtioned, he ſaid ſix months; and at laſt owned he bought it at Chatham about

about a fortnight before. Upon this, he was taken immediately into cuſtody by a tipſtaff then preſent for that purpoſe; was carried next morning before one of the judges; and a complaint likewiſe exhibited againſt him in the houſe of commons, who forthwith ordered the tipſtaff, in whoſe cuſtody he was, to bring him to the bar; but when he was there, the houſe received ſuch proofs of his being inſane, as engaged them to diſcharge him from any further appearance.

When Mr. Wilkes had been wounded, as we have already related, he gave notice of it to the houſe of commons, who accordingly gave him time for his appearance, and afterwards enlarged it on the report of his phyſician and ſurgeon; but beginning at laſt, to ſuſpect ſome colluſion between him and them, on the ſixteenth of December, they ordered Dr. Heberden and Mr. Hawkins to attend him, in order to obſerve the progreſs of his cure, and to report the ſame to the houſe.

In the mean time that gentleman obſerving the deciſion of all the preliminary queſtions relative to his caſe, the vigour with which the adminiſtration urged the proſecution, and the coldneſs with which every thing that was perſonal to him in theſe diſputes

was

was treated almoſt by the whole party, he judged it expedient to withdraw into France, until a change in adminiſtration might produce diſpoſitions more favourable to him.

On the nineteenth of January, the laſt adjourned day of the complaint, the commons being informed, that he had refuſed to admit ſurgeons, ſent by their authority, to examine into the ſtate of his wound, and conſidering his retreat into France rather as a mark of his conſcious guilt, than a proof of his indiſpoſition, they proceeded regularly to hear evidence in ſupport of the charge againſt him. They looked upon the letter and the apology he had ſent for his non-appearance, together with the teſtimony of the French ſurgeons, which accompanied it, as quite ridiculous. If his wound had been in the condition in which he repreſented it, a journey to Paris was a ſtrange meaſure; and the conſequences aroſe from his own voluntary act. The evidence appearing ſatisfactory as to the author, and the houſe having previouſly paſſed judgment on this piece, the queſtion of expelling Mr. Wilkes was carried without difficulty; the diviſion in his favour being inconſiderable. And now that gentleman, driven out

out from one houſe; under the cenſure of the other; under a double proſecution for a libel and for blaſphemy; began, at length, to be abandoned by many of his warmeſt friends. Even the populace, though they did not diſreliſh faction, could not digeſt prophaneneſs; they could forgive party malice, but were ſhocked at offences againſt decency and ſober morals. Mr. Wilkes was ſoon run to an outlawry for not appearing to the indictments againſt him; and the ſuits, which he had carried on againſt the ſecretaries of ſtate, fell, of courſe, to the ground.

On the whole of Mr. Wilke's caſe, it may be obſerved, that had he attacked the meaſures of the miniſtry from a thorough conviction of their pernicious tendency, he would certainly have merited, and would, no doubt, have obtained, the eſteem and applauſe of every good man. Had he, even though convinced of their rectitude, attacked them with a view of rendering himſelf remarkable, and thereby repairing or bettering his fortune, he might have defended his conduct (ſuch is the frailty, or rather depravity, of human nature) by the example of ſome of the greateſt ſtateſmen that ever England produced. To endeavour, however, to attain this end, by attacking the ve-

veracity of the K. and the h——r of his m——r, was an inſtance of ſuch daring and unexampled preſumption, as muſt neceſſarily draw, as it actually drew upon him, the utmoſt indignation of the whole legiſlature. But to endeavour to accompliſh it, by inflaming one part of the united kingdom againſt the other, and, by that means, expoſing the nation to the danger of being involved in all the calamities of a civil war, is evidently a crime of ſuch a black and atrocious nature, as can never be excuſed by any ſincere lover of his country; and it muſt be confeſſed, that his puniſhment, though, perhaps, ſomewhat ſevere, was not, however, altogether unmerited.

In Ireland the White Boys or Levellers, who had now aſſumed the name of Hearts of Oak, continued ſtill to raiſe ſome diſturbances; though none that were ſufficient, in the leaſt, to endanger the internal peace or tranquillity of the kingdom. With regard to the people in general they ſeem to have been actuated by a ſpirit of the moſt perfect loyalty and attachment, and to have lived on the beſt and moſt amicable terms with their lord lieutenant, the earl of Northumberland; as will plainly appear from the following ſpeech, with which that nobleman opened the parliament of Ireland, in the

the month of October, and the enſuing addreſs, which, in conſequence of the ſpeech, was by the parliament preſented to his majeſty.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It is with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, that, in obedience to his majeſty's commands, I am now to meet a parliament which has already given ſo many and ſuch very diſtinguiſhed proofs of its zeal and unanimity in the ſupport and ſervice of the crown.

"I have it expreſsly in command from his majeſty to declare to you his intire approbation of your paſt conduct, and to aſſure you, that the whole courſe of your late proceedings has filled his royal mind with every ſentiment of regard, which can flow from a juſt and gracious ſovereign towards a dutiful and loyal people.

"It is with particular ſatisfaction I communicate to you, at the opening of this ſeſſion of parliament, thoſe great and important events which have occurred ſince our laſt meeting.

"By the concluſion of a general peace, the tranquillity of every part of Europe is perfectly re-eſtabliſhed; his majeſty's dominions are enlarged; the commerce of his

ſubjects extended; and you are at length relieved from thoſe burthens, which are unavoidable in the progreſs even of the moſt ſucceſsful war.

"Intereſted, as you are, in the happineſs of ſo excellent a ſovereign, and ſenſible, as you have ever been, of the ineſtimable public bleſſings which you have enjoyed, under his illuſtrious houſe; you will receive, with pleaſure, the information of the auſpicious birth of the prince of Wales, and the further increaſe of the royal family by the birth of a ſecond prince: events, which promiſe ſuch an addition to his majeſty's domeſtic felicity, and ſuch a laſting ſecurity to our happy conſtitution.

Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

"I have ordered the proper officers to prepare the ſeveral accounts and eſtimates, that they may be laid, in due time, before you: you will obſerve that, although, from the exigences of ſeveral extraordinary ſervices, the expences of the two preceding years have conſiderably exceeded what was uſual in time of peace, yet they are fallen far ſhort of the ſums which were ſo liberally voted in the laſt ſeſſion; a great part of which ſtill remains unborrowed; his majeſty

jeſty having determined to make uſe of the credit given to his government in no other proportion than as the neceſſity of his ſervice exactly required. I conſider it as extremely fortunate that I enter upon the government of this kingdom, at a time, when the ſituation of public affairs will permit ſo very conſiderable a diminution of the public expence; and when I am commanded by his majeſty to thank you only for your paſt efforts, without again having recourſe to the experienced liberality of parliament. I have nothing to aſk but the continuance of the ſupplies for the ſupport of the ordinary eſtabliſhments, which, it is hoped, will not exceed the produce of the ordinary revenue; and I recommend to you a proper attention to the reduction of the public debt.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Not only my duty, but my earneſt good wiſhes for the proſperity of Ireland, oblige me to take this opportunity of mentioning to you the only unpleaſing circumſtance which has occurred ſince my entrance upon this government; the tumultuous riſings of the lower people, in contempt of laws, and of magiſtracy, and of every conſtitu-

tional ſubordination, muſt, if not duly attended to, be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences: they are a diſgrace to a country of liberty; they are ruinous to a country of commerce; and muſt be particularly fatal here, where the leaſt check to the riſing ſpirit of induſtry is ſo very ſenſibly felt, and ſo very difficult to be retrieved: no means can ſerve more effectually to prevent theſe diſorders for the future, than the encouragement of ſuch inſtitutions as tend to impreſs on the minds of the lower order of people early habits of induſtry, and true principles of religion: for this purpoſe your Proteſtant charter ſchools were eſtabliſhed; to which I therefore recommend the continuance of your care, encouragement and ſupport; your linen manufactory demands and will reward every inſtance of public attention; there is nothing which can more properly excite your future endeavours, and nothing has more fully anſwered your former expectations: this manufacture has been, at all times, the favourite object of parliamentary encouragement; and I ſhall be concerned that any national advantage, which has been cultivated under the adminiſtration of my predeceſſors, ſhould be neglected under mine: be aſſured you cannot take any meaſures which will be more grate-

grateful to his majeſty, or which I ſhall be more ſolicitous to forward, than thoſe which may, in any reſpect, advance the growing proſperity of this very improveable country. If therefore, any of your manufactures may be further extended; if any thing can be done towards exciting the ſpirit, or providing the means of induſtry; if any improvements in agriculture can be introduced, upon wiſe and practicable principles; and in every thing that tends to the encouragement of virtue, or the promoting of true religion, you will have towards the attainment of thoſe ends, not only my zealous co-operation, but his majeſty's ſteady and willing protection. I come to this government with the king's expreſs commands, and my own very warm inclination to recommend and to ſupport ſuch meaſures: his majeſty has the firmeſt reliance on your experienced duty and loyalty, on your unbiaſſed regard to the public: and he doubts not that this ſeſſion of parliament will be carried on in a manner ſuitable to your own dignity, and to the unanimity of your paſt proceedings.

If the moſt inviolable attachment to his majeſty, and zeal for his ſervice; if a firm adherence to thoſe principles, by which the proteſtants of Ireland have ever been diſtin-

guiſhed, were qualifications ſufficient for the diſcharge of the high and arduous truſt committed to my hands, I might enſure myſelf an adminiſtration not unacceptable to parliament: and I ſtill flatter myſelf that as the only ends I have in purſuit, are, the king's ſervice, and the public welfare, I may obtain the only rewards I have in view, his majeſty's favourable acceptance of my ſervices, and your intire approbation of my conduct."

In conſequence of this ſpeech the parliament of Ireland preſented the following addreſs to his majeſty.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons of Ireland, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to renew our unfeigned profeſſions of the moſt zealous and affectionate attachment to your majeſty's royal perſon and government, which we have been, upon all occaſions, forward to expreſs; and, we truſt, have manifeſted by our conduct.

"We now think ourſelves, in a very particular manner, called upon to make the moſt ſolemn and public declarations of our in-

inviolable duty and attachment, to your majeſty, when the moſt infamous and flagitious libels have been publiſhed and circulated through your kingdom, filled with the groſſeſt inſults to your majeſty's ſacred perſon and royal authority; violating every rule of decency, order and government; and tending to ſtir up, through all ranks of your majeſty's ſubject, a ſpirit of diſcontent and of diſobedience to their prince, the laws, and the conſtitution.

"As theſe audacious and outrageous attempts have been deemed fitting objects for the juſt and exemplary cenſure of the legiſlature of Great-Britain; we think it cannot be unreaſonable, and we hope it will not be unacceptable, to your majeſty, that we alſo expreſs our utter deteſtation and abhorrence of ſuch inſolent and wicked practices.

"And we beg leave, at the ſame time, humbly to aſſure your majeſty, that theſe ſentiments proceed, not only from thoſe principles of duty, by which we are bound as ſubjects, but from the moſt cordial affection and reverence for thoſe reſpectable and amiable virtues, which are the objects of the love and admiration of all your people.

"We therefore intreat your majeſty, graciouſly to receive theſe declarations from us;

us; that we are truly sensible of the many and great blessings we enjoy under your majesty's mild and auspicious reign; that we are truly thankful to your majesty for the honourable and advantageous peace which your majesty, through your great wisdom and paternal concern for your subjects, hath happily concluded for the benefit of your kingdoms; that it is our firm and unalterable resolution, to support the dignity and authority of your majesty's government, whersoever our influence can extend, against all who shall presume to disturb it: and that it is our most sincere and ardent wish, that your majesty may reign through a long course of years, blessed with the increase of every public and domestic felicity, and supported by the unanimous voice of all your subjects.

"To us who, by our situation, must be deprived of your majesty's immediate influence, it is of the utmost consequence, that your majesty's royal power should be delegated to persons sensible of the importance of that high trust, and by their capacity, probity, and moderation, fitted for the execution. And we cannot omit this occasion of assuring your majesty, that the rights and dignity of the crown can never be more faithfully maintained nor more honourably supported, nor the administration of your majesty's government carried on,

upon

upon principles more agreeable to the conſtitution, nor in a manner more entirely acceptable and ſatisfactory to the people, than by the earl of Northumberland."

In the month of October ſeveral parts of Ireland ſuffered ſeverely by a ſtorm, particularly the counties of Kilkenny and Wicklow, in the former of which ſeven bridges, and in the latter no leſs than ſeventeen, with numbers of houſes, cattle, &c. were ſwept away by the violence of the floods. In the county of Kilkenny one little rivulet roſe upwards of twenty feet; and in the latter, a mountain called Knockacree, within two miles of Tenehinch, burſt with a prodigious noiſe; and poured out a torrent, which, in its way to a neighbouring river, bore down every thing it met with. Many lives were loſt on this occaſion. One of the bridges fell while it was crouded with people going to the relief of a poor family, ſurrounded by the water, and upwards of ſeventy perſons periſhed.

But, perhaps, the moſt melancholy ſcene of all was that on board a ſhip going from Cheſter to Dublin. Her proviſions, already, it is probable, too little for the vaſt number of perſons ſhe had taken out with her, were rendered ſtill leſs by many more who afterwards were crouded on board her; and this

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ſcanty ſtock, to make room for the paſſengers, was obliged, together with the ſea ſtores moſt neceſſary in a ſtorm, to be placed upon the deck, from whence every thing was ſoon after waſhed, before the captain and crew, ſurpriſed by the ſuddeneſs of the ſtorm, had time to look about them. What followed may be more eaſily conceived than expreſſed. The wretches crammed into the hold, without light or air, and all on board the ſhip without bread and water, with ſcarce any other proſpect of ſeeing an end to their ſufferings but by the ſhip's foundering; an event, which the impoſſibility of getting rid of the maſts, now become a moſt dangerous incumbrance, for want of proper inſtruments to cut them away, ſeemed to render almoſt unavoidable. Providence, however, brought them, in about forty-eight hours, into a ſmall port in Wales, but without putting a final end to their diſtreſs, the place being too little to afford immediate relief to ſo many new and unexpected gueſts.

The earl of Northumberland, beſide doing for the ſufferers on ſhore all that could be expected from ſo public ſpirited a governor, gave them in his private capacity, one thouſand pounds. And, as ſoon as the Iriſh parliament met, they took care to pre-

prevent, as much as poſſible, the ſame calamity happening at ſea again, by obliging the maſters, under ſevere penalties, to man, victual, and otherwiſe provide themſelves in proportion to the length of the voyage, and number of paſſengers, with proper allowance for accidents of every kind.

In the courſe of the ſame month, a moſt ſhocking murder was committed at Urnney near Strabane in the ſame kingdom.

The occaſion of it was this: William Kemp, a poor man, with a large family, had taken the liberty to admoniſh, for his diſhoneſt tricks, one Charles Wright, who attended about the mill of Caſtlefynn, upon which Wright was heard to ſay, "he would give him a poſſet." Kemp ſuſpecting no harm, brought a ſmall quantity of grain to the mill to have it ground. Wright ran to the apothecary's, bought rat's bane, and threw it into the hopper with the grain. Kemp carried home his meal, and had part of it prepared for food, which he eat up greedily, being very hungry; his family, being nine in number, took ſhare with him, but more ſparingly; ſix other perſons alſo who came into the cabin got part of this fatal doſe. They were all inſtantly ſeized with violent gripings and vomiting; the doctor being called in, pronounced that they

they were poiſoned, and the apothecary who attended, immediately recollected, that Wright got the poiſon at his ſhop. In this confuſion Wright made his eſcape; but it is hard to expreſs the ſufferings, which thoſe innocent people underwent. Thoſe who had only got a ſmall doſe, ſtruggled through with life; but the honeſt old man, Kemp, died in the moſt violent agonies, his eyes, tongue, and cheeks, being full of ulcers, and his throat and bowels entirely parched up. It appeared likewiſe, that the monſter had, about a year before, poiſoned one James Devanny, and his family, all of whom, to the number of ſix, expired in the moſt excruciating torments. A reward was offered, and every other precaution taken for diſcovering the aſſaſſin; but whether or not he has been yet apprehended, we have not been able to learn.

In the month of April of the preceding year, Chittagong, in the kingdom of Bengal, and the neighbouring places, were violently ſhaken by an earthquake. The weather had been for ſome days cloſe and hot. The motion was at firſt gentle, but increaſed ſo much that perſons, who were walking, found it difficult to keep their feet. Moſt of the brick walls and houſes were either damaged or demoliſhed; a new

room

room at the fort, ſtrong built of brick, was ſhivered on all ſides from top to bottom, and great part of the old building was thrown down. In many parts of the town the earth opened, and threw up water and mud of a ſulphureous ſmell, filling up at the ſame time many ditches and ſmall pools which are now level and dry ground. Chaſms were left in many places, ſome of them unfathomable; and at a place, called Bardavan, a large river was totally dried up by a bank of ſand that roſe up in the middle of it. At Bakor Churak, near the ſea, a large tract of ground ſunk, and out of five hundred people, two hundred periſhed with all their cattle. At many other places the brick buildings were entirely thrown down; ſeveral towns were overflowed with water, and ſunk ſeveral cubits; particularly a ſmall town, called Deep Gong, which now lies no leſs than ſeven cubits under water. The water was in ſome places thrown up ten cubits high, and ſettled in wells and pools of which no bottom can be found.

On the ſixteenth of June, a moſt violent eruption of Mount Gibel, in the iſland of Sicily, terrified the inhabitants for many miles round. The torrent of lava or inflammatory matter thrown out had, by the twenty-fourth, advanced two miles, and

was ſuppoſed to be thirty feet broad and ſixteen deep. In a few days after it extended twelve miles. The roaring, which proceeded from the volcano, was heard diſtinctly at the diſtance of twenty miles; and, added to the frequent ſhocks, ſpread the greateſt conſternation throughout the neighbourhood. A prodigious quantity of fine black ſand was likewiſe diſcharged from the mountain, and darkened the air to the diſtance of fifteen miles; but the eruption is not ſaid to have done any other damage than burning ſome trees in the wood of Paterno, and deſtroying the graſs over which it proceeded.

In the beginning of Auguſt, there aroſe at Anderlicht, about a league from Bruſſels, a violent conflict of ſeveral winds, borne upon a thick fog. This conflict laſted four or five minutes, and was attended with a frightful hiſſing noiſe, which could be compared to nothing but the yellings of an infinite number of wild beaſts. The cloud then opening, diſcovered a kind of very bright lightening, and in an inſtant the roofs of one ſide of the houſes were carried off and diſperſed at a diſtance. Above a thouſand large trees were, ſome broke off near the ground, others towards the top, and others torn up by the roots; and many, both

both of the branches and of the tops, carried to the diſtance of ſixty, a hundred, or a hundred and twenty paces. Whole coppices were laid on one ſide, as corn is by ordinary winds. The glaſs of the windows, which were moſt expoſed, was ſhivered to pieces. A tent in a gentleman's garden was carried to the diſtance of four thouſand paces; and a branch torn from a large tree ſtruck a girl in the forehead, as ſhe was coming to town, at the diſtance of forty paces from the trunk of the tree, and killed her on the ſpot. Some days before, there was a heavy rain which overflowed, in the ſame direction, the very ſpace of ground which the whirlwind afterwards ravaged.

In the courſe of this year, there happened at Amſterdam, Hamburgh, and ſome other of the principal towns of Germany, a ſurpriſing number of bankruptcies. They began at Amſterdam about the twenty-ninth of July, by the bankruptcy of two brothers named Neufville, who failed, as was ſaid, for above three hundred and thirty thouſand guineas, and a Jew, who a few days before failed for between thirty and forty thouſand. This was followed by a ſtoppage of payment by no leſs than eighteen houſes in that city; and ſoon after by a much great-

er number at Hamburgh and other places; which gave ſuch a ſhock to private credit, that no buſineſs was for ſome time tranſacted but for ready money; but the Lombard houſes at Amſterdam and Hamburgh having ſupplied, with large quantities of caſh, ſuch as could give real or perſonal ſecurity, many, who muſt otherwiſe have been ruined, were thereby enabled to ſtand the run, and private credit was, in a little time, reſtored. On this occaſion ſeveral merchants, on ſhewing their books to perſons appointed to examine them, were protected from arreſts by the magiſtrates. The king of Pruſſia, finding that ſome of his ſubjects had depoſited large ſums of ready money in the hands of ſome bankers of Hamburgh, took proper meaſures, to prevent its going towards the payment of their other creditors.

Various were the conjectures concerning the cauſe of theſe bankruptcies. Some attributed them to the large ſums of money left unpaid by the Engliſh and French armies: others to theſe merchants being diſappointed in their expectations of the ſeveral German princes, who had iſſued baſe money during the late war, and now called it in again, if not at the rate at which it was originally paid away, and for ſome time

time circulated, at leaſt at a much greater than that for which themſelves had bought it up.

With regard to the ſtate of affairs on the continent, it had, ſince the concluſion of the peace, undergone no material alteration, except in the vacancy, which happened, in the throne of Poland, the ſupplying of which employed, at that time the chief attention of the ſeveral courts of Europe. Auguſtus the third of that kingdom, and elector of Saxony, immediately after the termination of the war, returned to his hereditary dominions, from whence he had been exiled for ſix years. Unfortunately for him, he had engaged in deſigns too vaſt for his power or his capacity; and had entered into that kind of alliance, in which the weak parts are always ſure to ſuffer moſt in time of war, and to be indemnified leaſt upon a peace. Flying from his country, and leaving his palace and his family in the poſſeſſion of his enemies, he had retired to Poland, where his authority, by the conſtitution not very highly reſpected, was by his misfortunes rendered ſtill more contemptible; and he there endured a continual ſeries of croſſes and contradictions. He had the misfortune to find, that the king of Pruſſia, who had ſeized, by force of arms,

upon one part of his dominions, was, by influence and policy, far ſuperior to him in, and had, in a manner, acquired the government of, the other. His queen conſort died in a ſort of captivity, overcome with the alarms, the vexations, and the indignities to which ſhe had been expoſed. One of his ſons, for whom he hoped to make a ſettlement in the duchy of Courland, was depoſed almoſt as ſoon as he was elected. Another, whom he ſet up as candidate for the biſhopric of Liege, was defeated in that attempt; ſo that having been long depreſſed by almoſt every kind of misfortune, and having ſuffered in every thing, which could affect his intereſt or affection, as a ſovereign, huſband, or father, it is no wonder that his conſtitution, already impaired by age, was at length exhauſted. He was ſuddenly ſeized with a kind of lethargy, and died on the fifth of October, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and about thirty years from his election to the crown of Poland.

The death of this prince occaſioned a vacancy in the throne of Poland; to fill which, agreeably to their deſires and intereſts, is one of the great objects of attention to moſt of the conſiderable powers in the north. At the ſame time an election of a king of the Romas was on foot.

Theſe

These two elective sovereignties are not only the source of many mischiefs to those who live under them, but have likewise been the cause of great bloodshed and confusion to the other parts of Europe. Indeed, these existing examples prove, beyond all speculation, the infinite superiority, in every respect, of hereditary monarchy; since it is evident, that the method of election constantly produces all those intestine divisions, to which, by its nature, it appears so liable, and also fails in that, which is one of its principal objects, and which might be expected from it, the securing government, for many successions, in the hands of persons of extraordinary merit and uncommon capacity. We find by experience, that those kingdoms, where the throne is hereditary, have had, in their series of succession, full as many able princes to govern them, as either Poland or Germany, which are elective.

It must be confessed, however, that the latter of these countries has provided, either by design or accident, much better than the former, against the inconveniencies of an election. The electors in Germany are very few in number, amounting, in all, but to nine, and all of them great princes. So that the method of chus-

chuſing an emperor has nothing tumultuous in it, and rather reſembles a negotiation between ſovereign ſtates, than a popular election of a ſupreme magiſtrate.

There is another particular, in which the German conſtitution, in this reſpect, greatly excells the Poliſh; which is, that the majority of voices determines the election; whereas in Poland, where the number of electors is exceedingly great, unanimity is required in the choice of a king, as in all their public deliberations of what nature ſoever. Beſides, by a very prudent precaution, in Germany, the ſucceſſor, under the name of the king of the Romans, is commonly elected during the life of the reigning emperor. Every thing is ſettled, and infinite confuſion is thereby avoided. What evils might in the empire ariſe from a want of this precaution, may be judged, not only from the example of Poland, where they never would admit this uſage, but from the misfortunes, which have ſo recently happened upon the death of Charles VI. without male iſſue, or the previous election of a king of the Romans.

In reality, the German conſtitution appears to be as perfect as can be expected in a commonwealth of ſovereign princes, or federal union of ſeveral monarchies and republicks

publicks under a common head. Such an union, conſidered in itſelf, might, indeed, ſeem very uſeleſs, or, in ſome reſpects, dangerous; but the extreme inequality of the ſovereignties, which compoſe the Germanic body, makes it abſolutely neceſſary to the freedom of all the leſſer members, that there ſhould be a conſiderable power veſted in the chief of the union, acting by the authority of the whole, to prevent the violence and injuſtice of the ſtronger. This power is, perhaps, too weak perfectly to accompliſh its ends; but ſtill it is of ſome uſe.

Poland ſeems to be a country formed to give the moſt diſadvantageous idea of liberty, by the extreme to which it is carried, and the injuſtice with which it is diſtributed. The conſtitution of this republic is deſcribed in too many modern books to make it neceſſary to enter in this place into a long detail concerning it. The only real power of the ſtate is veſted in the gentry, or, as they call them, the Equeſtrian order: this power they exerciſe by their repreſentatives in their diets, or parliaments, which the king is obliged to call triennially, where all reſolutions muſt be paſſed unanimouſly, a tribunitial power, as it is generally known, being veſted in each member, who can put

a ſtop

a ſtop to all public proceedings, by his ſingle negative.

Each noble Pole ſeems rather an independent ſovereign than a citizen. He has a voice at the election of a king, and may himſelf be raiſed to that high ſtation. He is abſolute maſter of life and death on his own eſtate, all his tenants being, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, his ſlaves. His houſe is a ſanctuary, not only for himſelf, but for all others; juſtice, in civil, or even in criminal matters, can with great difficulty reach him; in ſhort, he enjoys privileges ſo incompatible with all regular government, that one of their own writers uſes it as a ſtrong proof of the natural good diſpoſition of the Poliſh nobility, that, with ſuch an unbounded licence, the moſt horrid diſorders are not more frequent amongſt them.

The power of the king is extremely circumſcribed. He can do nothing of great importance, but with the conſent of the diet; and ſcarcely the moſt minute act without the approbation of the ſenate. The choice, indeed, of this ſenate is in himſelf, but he can never revoke the choice when once made. The ſenate is compoſed of a certain number of biſhops, (whom he nominates) ſenators by right of their ſee, and of *Palatines*, or governors of provinces, of whom

whom he has likewiſe the appointment. But they hold their places for life, and are, in general, a great check upon him, though in ſome inſtances they have proved a ſupport to his authority.

All the great officers of Poland being as permanent as the royalty itſelf, thoſe, who are inveſted with them, are inveſted with almoſt the whole power of the ſtate. They are the great general, the great chancellor, the great treaſurer, and the great marſhal. Theſe four officers have amongſt them the command of the army, the adminiſtration of juſtice, the diſtribution of the public treaſure, and the regulation of the police. They are no ways accountable to the king for their conduct in their ſeveral departments, nor do they receive his orders in the exerciſe of any part of their duty.

Such important dignities, with little or no controul, being veſted in powerful ſubjects, who are generally at the head of conſiderable factions, it is the natural and almoſt the neceſſary conſequence, that, in Poland, the public treaſure ſhould be ill diſpoſed; the army undiſciplined, irregular, and incomplete; that the police ſhould be out of order; and that juſtice ſhould be looſely and partially adminiſtered.

Their

Their military force consists, chiefly, in the *Pospolite*, that is, the whole body of the gentry, which, upon extraordinary occasions, the king and the national general can order into the field, to serve for a limited time. The inconvenience and inutility of this military institution, in the present state of the art of war, need not be insisted on. They have also a standing army, which ought to amount to about forty thousand men. But, from the reasons assigned above, it is a body altogether contemptible, especially the foot, as they consist almost wholly of their wretched peasants.

Of this constitution, with all its evils, the Poles are infinitely enamoured. The idea they entertain of personal dignity, from seeing so many people in a servile condition below them, and from having only so feeble and precarious an authority above them, flatters, in the highest degree, their pride and self importance. No people have ever taken greater precautions to secure the possession of a sober and well-regulated freedom, than the Poles have to preserve themselves in their present anarchy. To this they sacrifice all the security and all the dignity of the state; and they are, in effect, governed, in their most important concerns, rather by their powerful and ambitious neighbours,

bours, than their own national councils. A late writer on their affairs gives a very ſtriking and pathetic deſcription of the miſchiefs they ſuffer from this ill contrived plan of liberty. Speaking of the Poliſh gentleman,

"He forms (ſays the author) a ſort of "intrenchment of his preſumption; and "thinking himſelf ſecure of every thing, "it gives him no concern that the republic "is weak, exhauſted, diſarmed. Abſurd-"ly blind, he cannot ſee that the preſer-"vation of particulars has a neceſſary de-"pendence on that of the public, and that "no member can live, but when the whole "body is preſerved in vigour.

"Who would not be moved with the "wretched ſituation of our republic? If "any of our neighbours thinks proper to "make war upon us, he finds no barrier, "which can check his progreſs for an hour; "nothing prevents him from penetrating "into the heart of the kingdom. He en-"ters our provinces, he levies contribu-"tions, he deſtroys, he ravages, he burns; "the blood flows from every part; the "citizen groans and bends under the yoke; "the conqueror commands deſpotically, "and every thing obeys him.

"In the mean time what measures do we "take? what resources do we derive from "those privileges which ought to defend "us, from those lofty ideas, which have in- "spired us with this security? We have "neither troops nor artillery, nor money, "nor provisions, nor even the slightest "rampart about our towns. The alarm "bell is rung to assemble the nation; diets "are held; confederacies are made; we "declaim; we write; we make a stir; we "propose remedies; but we propose them "when it is too late to use them; and "when we have no resource left but a trea- "ty of peace, in which, to save our lives "and our goods, we are compelled to sub- "mit to whatever conditions they think "proper to impose upon us."

To give an head to this extraordinary republic was, at that time, the first object in the active politics of Europe. Immediately on the death of the late king of Poland, his eldest son, and successor to his hereditary, resolved to declare himself a candidate for the crown of his elective, dominions. With this view he wrote the following letter to all the nobles of Poland.

SIR,

SIR,

YESTERDAY it pleaſed the Almighty to afflict me with a blow no leſs terrible than unexpected. He has taken to himſelf the king my father, by a death eaſy to him, but very cruel for me, who had no time to prepare myſelf for it. The grief, with which I am juſtly oppreſſed, cannot make me forget a kingdom, which was ſo dear to the kings my father and grandfather, or thoſe faithful ſervants who gave them ſo many proofs of a ſincere attachment. I feel the irreparable loſs you have ſuffered; and it would give me the higheſt conſolation to be able to mitigate it.

I propoſe to make the republic an offer of my ſervice, and of all the aſſiſtance that is in my power to give her, if, by conferring the crown on me, ſhe will entruſt me with the reins of government: and I have all reaſon to hope, that if the Poliſh nation be diſpoſed to give me this mark of their affection and confidence, all the neighbouring powers will chearfully acquieſce in it. You gave the laſt king, my father, ſo many proofs of your attachment, that I flatter myſelf you will ſhew the ſame affection to me: and I am very ſenſible how much it is

in your power to procure me the satisfaction I aspire after, of governing an illustrious nation, which will ever be distinguished by its fidelity and attachment to their kings. Be persuaded that my gratitude shall be in proportion to the greatness of the service done me: of this you can have no doubt, if you do me the justice to believe I am animated with the same spirit as my ancestors. I pray God to direct the deliberations of the republic, to keep you, Sir, in his holy protection. I am, your affectionate friend,

FREDERICK.

The pretensions of this prince were, probably, countenanced by the court of Vienna, as the only means they had of making him amends for all that his hereditary countries had suffered in their cause. But he did not live long enough to make a trial of his interest. He was carried off by the small-pox in a few weeks after his father, leaving a son too young to aspire to an elective crown, especially such a crown as that of Poland.

The interposition of Austria in favour of any prince of the house of Saxony, will ever be a sufficient motive to induce the court of Berlin to oppose his election, even if

if that court had no other. But in reality, it is not the intereſt of the king of Pruſſia, that a family, whoſe dominions lie ſo near him, and which has no great reaſon to be attached to him, ſhould be ſtrengthened (however little) by the acceſſion of the crown of Poland. Beſides, that, the influence, which he will always endeavour, for very good reaſons, to keep up in that country, muſt be obviouſly weakened by the election of ſuch a perſon; and if the prince elected, ſhould prove able in the government, might be even wholly loſt.

The empreſs of Ruſſia, who has the ſame ends in keeping up a party in Poland, and who has never ſhewn a very great regard to the court of Vienna, was ſuppoſed to unite in this oppoſition. Theſe conſiderations it was thought would influence theſe two courts more or leſs, to oppoſe any prince of that houſe.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſpoſitions, they both made profeſſion of great fairneſs, and a determined reſolution to preſerve the utmoſt freedom in the election. At the ſame time, however, they plainly enough ſignified their wiſhes, that the Poles would elect one of their own countrymen; and they were thought particularly to favour with all their intereſt ſome prince of the great houſes of Czartorinſky or Poniatowſki.

The Poles were very far from being universally pleased with this care of their interests, about which these two great powers condescended to be so anxious. Many amongst them loved to encourage a number of foreign candidates, that they might profit of the money they should spend, and that the importance of their votes might be enhanced. Several were also of opinion, that they were likely to be better governed by a foreign prince, than by one of their own natives. They imagined they had taken such precautions, as must prevent any foreign prince, whom they might elect, from infringing on their liberty; and in other particulars his government might be more just and equal, as being less engaged in the family dissentions and civil factions within the nation. Nay, they were not certain, that a great Polish lord, with a vast dependency and a large territory in the midst of the country, and able to raise and maintain an army even from his own private funds, might not, on the throne, prove more dangerous to their constitution than any foreigner.

On the other hand, the pride of the Polish nobility is more flattered by being governed by one of their own body. A prince, who commands despotically in an hereditary coun-

country, where he maintains a large ſtanding army, or any prince too cloſely connected with ſuch a ſovereign, might, they apprehended, prove a much more dangerous enemy to the Poliſh liberty, than one of their own citizens raiſed to be their ſupreme magiſtrate, who could never materially hurt them, unleſs the body of the nation ſhould be inclined to co-operate with him.

Actuated by theſe different ſentiments, the whole nation ſplit into two grand factions, one of whom declared for the election of a native, uſually called a *Piaſt*, the other for that of a foreigner; and theſe factions were ſeverally encouraged by ſome of the neighbouring powers, as led either by intereſt or inclination. Auſtria, France, and Spain, as connected with the houſe of Saxony, were of the latter party; the former was embraced by Muſcovy, Pruſſia, and Turky; two of theſe powers having previouſly fixed upon a perſon, whoſe pretenſions they determined to ſupport. An army of Ruſſians entered into Poland, and approached Warſaw. The Pruſſians appeared on one frontier, and a body of Turks aſſembled on the other.

The candidate, who had united theſe great potentates in his favour, was count Poniatowſki, of the illuſtrious family of that name,

name, powerful by its dependencies and alliances. He was a man, by his personal qualificatios, by his eminent virtues, and his various acquirements by study and travel, fitted to fill and dignify any station. If the constitution of Poland would ever suffer it to emerge, it could not have better chances for becoming considerable under any prince. He was solemnly recommended, as well as effectually supported, by the above-mentioned powers.

The friendship, however, of the great powers, which this nobleman had acquired by his virtues, raised him many enemies, and no small opposition, within the kingdom. The great house of Radzivil, and count Branitzki, who was extremely powerful by his office of crown general, declared against him, and acted with great violence on this occasion. The one opposed him with all the force of a family, which could raise an army of its dependents; the other with the army of the republic, not, perhaps, more considerable, but of which his office had given him the entire command. As these forces were far from being contemptible, so the pretences of the noblemen were far from being unpopular. They did not oppose the election of a native, but they contended that this election

election ought to be free; and they could not bear, that, under the name of preserving the liberty of Poland, a foreign army should openly, and almost avowedly, dispose of its crown. This was their complaint; but it was not a new one, and never could produce any effect. That constitution, which they so ardently asserted, necessarily occasioned this very dependance on foreign powers, of which they so loudly complained.

On the other hand, count Poniatowski, besides his foreign connections, had a very large party within the kingdom. He was nearly related to the family of Czartorinski, perhaps at this time the most powerful in Poland. The chief of that house might, himself, have formed a considerable party to raise him to the crown; but he gave way to the pretensions of his kinsman, and supported him with all his interest. The Primate of Poland too, who, during the interregnum, has the right of convoking the diets, and acts, in that troubled interval, with almost all the authority of a king, was entirely devoted to Poniatowski, who, strengthened by such internal interests, and assisted by so powerful a foreign force, openly declared himself a candidate for the crown. His kinsman, Czartorinski, was cho-

choſen mareſchal or ſpeaker of the diet, and every thing proceeded very proſperouſly in his favour.

The other party, however, had not been idle either during the election of the nuncios or repreſentatives, who, in the name of the body of the nobility, were to chuſe a king, or at the firſt aſſembling of the ſtates. On the former occaſion, great tumults were raiſed, but they did not laſt long. On the latter, twenty-two ſenators entered a proteſt againſt the proceedings of the diet, the principal reaſons of which were grounded, on the preſence and interference of the foreign troops. Forty-five nuncios ſigned an act of adheſion to this pretext.

At the ſame time, count Branitzki took the field with the army of the crown, and prince Radzivil with a body of his own dependents; but theſe two noblemen were ſoon after defeated by different parties of the Ruſſians, and obliged to take ſhelter in the Turkiſh dominions.

The diet and the kingdom being thus ſpeedily freed from all thoſe who oppoſed Poniatowſki, the election was ſoon concluded in favour of that prince with an unanimity unknown in the annals of Poland. His own great qualities, his popularity in his country, his powerful connections, the favour

vour of the prince primate, and the countenance of the great powers of the north, ſmoothed his way to the throne, which he attained with the moſt auſpicious appearances, and to the general ſatisfaction, on the ſeventh day of September, by the name and titles, of Staniſlaus Auguſtus, king of Poland, and grand duke of Lithuania.

Immediately after his election, he received letters of congratulation from all the courts, by whom his cauſe had been eſpouſed. The moſt remarkable was that from the king of Pruſſia, written with his majeſty's own hand. From the matter and the occaſion, as well as the character of the writer, it is extremely worthy of being inſerted at length. Nothing can be more glorious than a communication of ſuch ſentiments in the intercourſe between ſovereigns. The letter was conceived in the following terms:

"Your majeſty muſt reflect, that, as you enjoy a crown by election, and not by deſcent, the world will be more obſervant of your majeſty's actions, than of any other potentate in Europe; and it is but reaſonable. The latter being the mere effect of conſanguinity, no more is looked for, though much more is to be wiſhed, from him, than what men are endowed with in common: but,

but, from a man, exalted, by the voice of his equals, from a subject to a king; from a man, voluntarily elected to reign over those by whom he was chosen; every thing is expected that can possibly dignify and adorn a crown. Gratitude to his people is the first great duty of such a monarch; for to them alone, under Providence, he is indebted for his high station. A king, who is so by birth, if he acts in a manner derogatory to his station, is a satire only on himself; but an elected one, who behaves inconsistent with his dignity, reflects dishonour also on his subjects. Your majesty, I am sure, will pardon this warmth: it is the effusion of the sincerest regard. The amiable part of the picture is not so much a lesson of what your majesty ought to be, as a prophecy of what your majesty will be."

End of the FIFTIETH *and last* VOLUME.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM